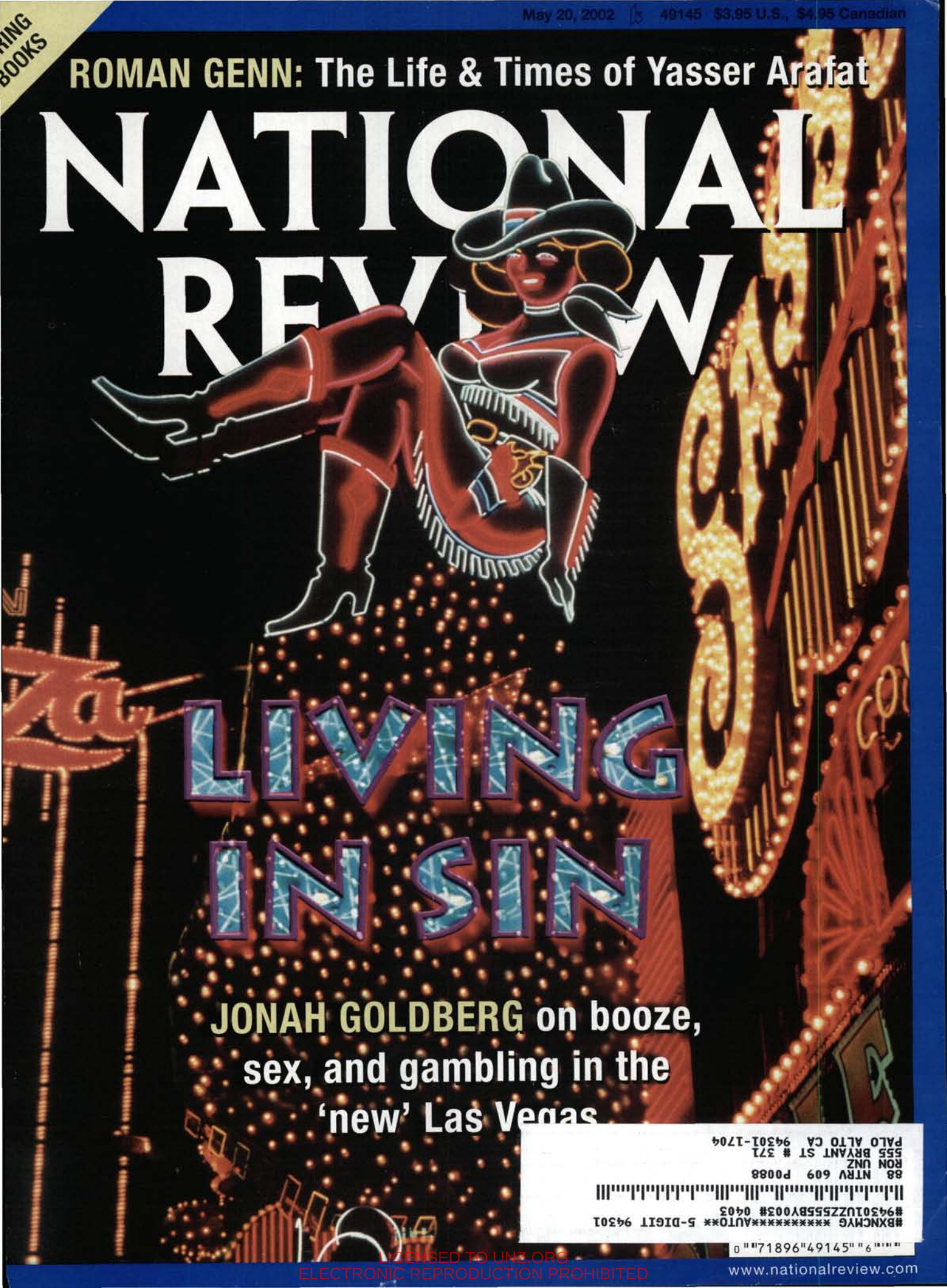
May 20, 2002 49145 $3.95 U.S., $4.95 Canadian

KING BOOKS

ROMAN GENN: The Life & Times of Yasser Arafat

NATIONAL REVIEW



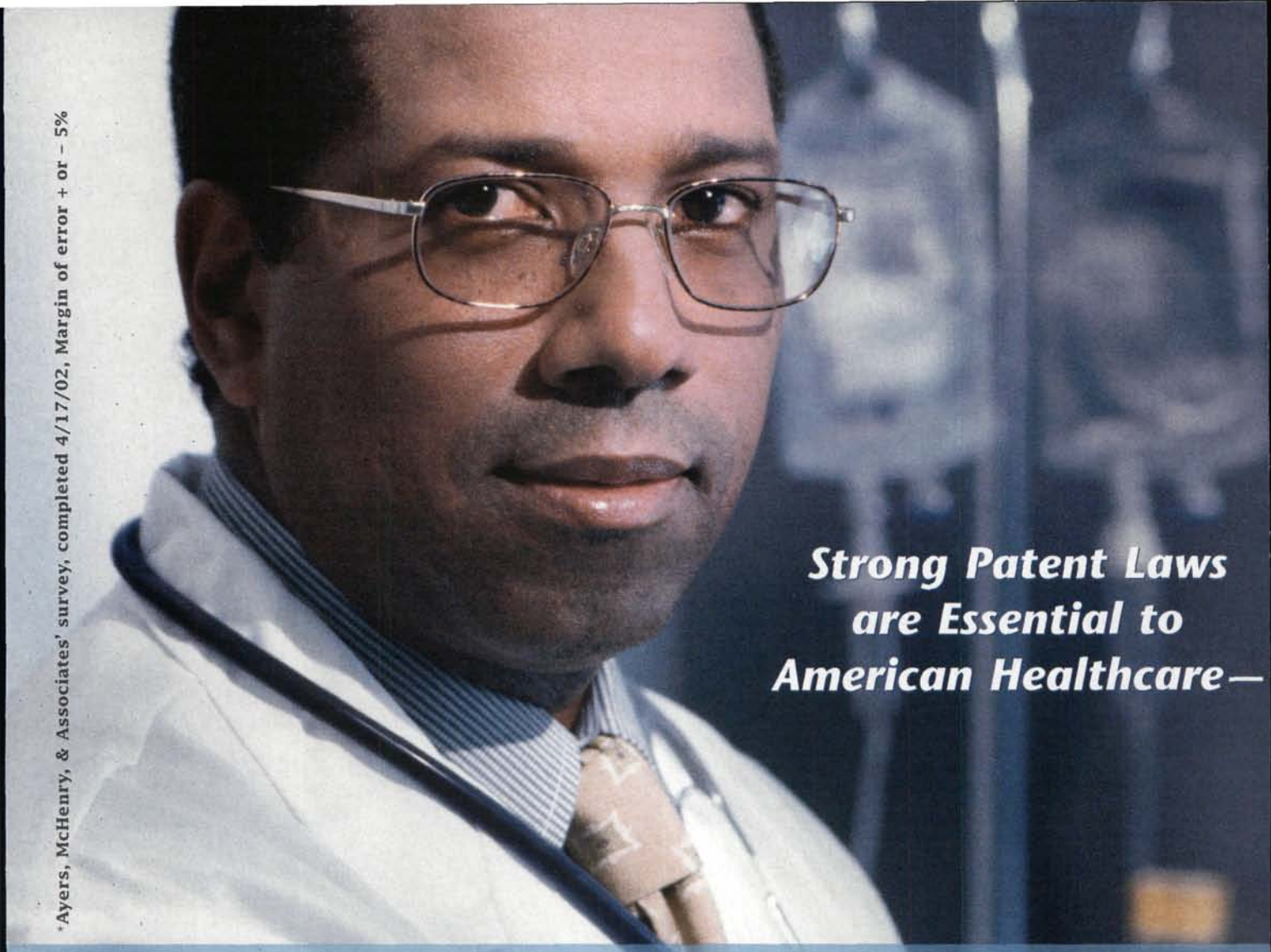
LIVING IN SIN

JONAH GOLDBERG on booze, sex, and gambling in the 'new' Las Vegas

#BXNCMYG ********AUTO** 5-DIGIT 94301
#94301UZZ555BY003# 0403
88 NTRV 609 P0088
RON UNZ
555 BRYANT ST # 371
PALO ALTO CA 94301-1704

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

www.nationalreview.com



*Ayers, McHenry, & Associates' survey, completed 4/17/02, Margin of error + or – 5%

Just Ask Your Doctor

American doctors, in overwhelming numbers, understand the vital role prescription drugs play in American healthcare and that strong patent protections are key to drug innovation and development.

A just completed survey* of American doctors found that 75% of all MDs see patent protections as very important to the creation of new drugs. 67% fear that weakening patent protections for new drugs will hurt research and innovation, especially when it comes to rare diseases.

75% of MDs: Patent laws are very important to the future of America's medicines.

America's frontline health providers are almost unanimous—88% agree—that continuing development of new drugs is "very important" for patient care.

Prescription drugs are vital to American healthcare... and strong patent laws are vital to developing new prescription drugs. *Just ask your doctor!*

PhRMA

Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America

www.phrma.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATIONAL REVIEW

MAY 20, 2002 VOL. LIV, NO. 9

ARTICLES

18 The Saudi Choice *by Richard Lowry*
As before, the House of Saud will have to decide.

20 'A Tower of Falsehoods' *by David Pryce-Jones*
When a 'massacre' is not a massacre.

24 Winning, Truly, in Afghanistan
by Marin J. Strmecki
There is more to do over there.

26 A Trade President? *by Ramesh Ponnuru*
George W. Bush has stumbled early; but he has time to recover.

29 Without Their Daughters *by Kate O'Beirne*
The outrage of child abduction and U.S. complacency.

32 The Ugly Frenchman *by John O'Sullivan*
Looking at Le Pen and deciding what you see.

35 Living in Sin *by Jonah Goldberg*
Fantasy and reality in today's Las Vegas.

38 There He Goes Again *by Jay Nordlinger*
Jimmy Carter, our 'model ex-president.'

41 The Unknown Slavery *by John J. Miller*
In the Muslim world, that is—and it's not over.

Cover: Elfi Kluck

WORLD WIDE WEB
www.nationalreview.com

BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

Oh What a . . . Small War—*Mackubin Thomas Owens,* **page 47**
The Savage Wars of Peace: Small Wars and the Rise of American Power, *by Max Boot*

Exiles on Main Street—*John Derbyshire,* **page 49**
The Middle of Everywhere: The World's Refugees Come to Our Town, *by Mary Pipher*

Steeple Chase—*Sarah E. Hinlicky,* **page 54**
The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity, *by Philip Jenkins*

The Great Debate—*James Como,* **page 56**
The Question of God: C. S. Lewis and Sigmund Freud Debate God, Love, Sex, and the Meaning of Life, *by Armand M. Nicholi Jr.*

The Case for Parnassus—*Michael Potemra,* **page 57**
Climbing Parnassus: A New Apologia for Greek and Latin, *by Tracy Lee Simmons*

The Insurgency—*William A. Rusher,* **page 59**
Fighting the Good Fight: A History of the New York Conservative Party 1962–2002, *by George J. Marlin*

SECTIONS

2 Letters
6 For the Record
8 The Week
44 Help!
46 The Long View
48 Poetry
60 Shelf Life
62 On the Right
64 The Misanthrope's Corner

NATIONAL REVIEW (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January, by NATIONAL REVIEW, Inc., at 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Periodicals postage paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices.

©National Review, Inc., 2002.

Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editor, etc., to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc., to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668; phone, 815-734-1232, Monday–Friday, 7:30 A.M. to 10:30 P.M. Eastern time. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile. Direct classified advertising inquiries to: Classifieds Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016 or call 212-679-7330. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668. Printed in the U.S.A.

RATES: $59.00 a year (25 issues). Add $21.50 for Canada and other foreign subscriptions, per year. (All payments in U.S. currency.) The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts or artwork unless return postage or, better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATIONAL REVIEW

May 20 issue; printed May 2

EDITOR
Richard Lowry

Senior Editors
Richard Brookhiser / Jeffrey Hart
Ramesh Ponnuru / David Pryce-Jones
Managing Editor Jay Nordlinger
Washington Editor Kate O'Beirne
Literary Editor Michael Potemra
Executive Editor Dorothy McCartney
National Political Reporter John J. Miller
White House Correspondent Byron York
Art Director Luba Kolomytseva
Production Editor Christopher McEvoy
Associate Editors
Emmy Chang / Julie Crane
Kathryn Jean Lopez / Sarah A. Maserati
Research Director John J. Virtes
Executive Secretary Frances Bronson
Assistant to Mr. Buckley Tony Savage
Assistant to the Editor Elizabeth A. Fitton
Editorial Associates
Aaron P. Bailey / Patricia B. Bozell
Melissa A. Seckora / Jane Buckley Smith
Editorial Assistant
George Vara
Contributing Editors
Robert H. Bork / Linda Bridges
John Derbyshire / W. H. von Dreele
Rod Dreher / Roman Genn
Jonah Goldberg / John Hillen
Florence King / Lawrence Kudlow
Mark R. Levin / Rob Long
Stephen Moore / John Simon

PRESIDENT
Thomas L. Rhodes
EDITORS-AT-LARGE
Wm. F. Buckley Jr. / John O'Sullivan

Contributors
Hadley Arkes / Baloo
Tom Bethell / James Bowman
David Brudnoy / Priscilla L. Buckley
Eliot A. Cohen / Brian Crozier
Dinesh D'Souza / M. Stanton Evans
Chester E. Finn Jr. / Neal B. Freeman
James Gardner / David Gelernter
George Gilder / Charles R. Kesler
John Kiley / James Jackson Kilpatrick
David Klinghoffer / Anthony Lejeune
D. Keith Mano / Richard John Neuhaus
Michael Novak / Alan Reynolds
Paul Craig Roberts / William A. Rusher
Tracy Lee Simmons / Terry Teachout
Taki Theodoracopulos / Ralph de Toledano
Vin Weber / Timothy J. Wheeler

Associate Publisher Jack Fowler Sr.
Assistant to the Publisher Kevin Longstreet
Assistant to the President Barbara Nowack
Chief Financial Officer James X. Kilbridge
Accounting Manager Galina Veygman
Treasurer Rose Flynn DeMaio
Business Services
Alex Batey / Victoria Manca
Irina Dynkevich
Circulation Director Theresa Maloney
Circulation Manager Jason Ng

WORLD WIDE WEB http://www.nationalreview.com
MAIN NUMBER 212-679-7330
SUBSCRIPTION INQUIRIES 815-734-1232
WASHINGTON OFFICE 202-543-9226
ADVERTISING SALES 212-679-7330
Executive Publisher Scott F. Budd
Advertising Manager Elizabeth Capano
Account Executive Aaron Cohen
Detroit Rep. Joseph J. Colucci 248-626-9918

PUBLISHER
Edward A. Capano

■ LETTERS ■

DISSIN' W.?

It has been evident from the beginning that you do not like George W. Bush. Now, Mark Helprin's "Phony War" (April 22) is the straw that finally broke the camel's back.

Why is it that every other journalist has suddenly become an armchair general who takes it upon himself to second-guess our brightest military and civilian minds? How is it that in hindsight everything is subject to negative criticism? Have you forgotten that there is a war on and that what the president needs is support, not dissension in the ranks?

As the nation's premier conservative journal you have failed—yes, failed—in your duty to support your party with constructive, not destructive, comments.

Charlotte Anderson
Wayne, Pa.

PHONY ECONOMICS

Mark Helprin presented valid reasons for a significant increase in military spending. Unfortunately, he did not explain where the money is going to come from. Republicans like to pretend that the government programs they want—the military, law enforcement, and business subsidies—can be paid for with pennies from heaven.

NR's use of a World War II propaganda poster in conjunction with this article is ironic. When the U.S. entered WWII, FDR did not beguile voters with agreeable lies about the revenue-building benefits of tax cuts. There were no exhortations to stimulate the economy by shopping and traveling. Instead, the income tax was doubled. Gasoline was rationed. The government forced Detroit to stop making civilian automobiles in favor of military vehicles.

That is the difference between Democratic fiscal responsibility and the fantasy economics of the GOP.

John Engelman
Walnut Creek, Calif.

NEVER FORGET

NATIONAL REVIEW should be saluted for publishing Jay Nordlinger's review of Paul Hollander's *Discontents: Postmodern & Postcommunist* (April 22). Foreign-born members of American academia who personally experienced persecution by Nazis and Communists, and who as refugees in America devote their lives and careers to the exposure of tyrannical Communist theories and practices, continue to be mostly unrecognized or underrated.

America must be kept updated on international socialism (Communism), whose atrocities against humanity lasted more than 70 years and caused millions of premature deaths.

The pathetic intellectual climate marked by secular materialism, irrationalism, relativism, and syncretism in philosophy still dominates but, thanks to unrelenting spirits like Paul Hollander, should be on its way out.

Libor Brom
Barrington, Ill.

YUCCA GLITCH

Jonah Goldberg's article "Dead and Buried" (April 8), regarding the ridiculous bickering over the Yucca Mountain nuclear-waste storage site, was right on target—with one small, but very significant, glitch.

Near the end of the piece, he wrote that "after 800 feet, the nucleotides would hit 1,000 feet of wet rock; and then, finally, they'd hit the water table."

Mr. Goldberg meant "nuclides," i.e., atoms as characterized by their numbers of protons, neutrons, and energy content (and hence their potential danger as radioactive waste). A "nucleotide," in contrast, is the basic structural unit of a DNA or RNA molecule. Thus, a "nucleotide" is a ribose or deoxyribose sugar joined to a pyrimidine or purine base and a phosphate group. Nucleotides are not radioactive in the slightest.

Joseph T. Leone
Madison, Wis.

JONAH GOLDBERG REPLIES: *Sadly, Mr. Leone is, for the most part, correct, and I regret the inadvertent error. However, I should point out that numerous superheroes, Spiderman and the Hulk for instance, do in fact have radioactive nucleotides—it's what makes them super. Still, Mr. Leone's point is well taken.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A GROWING TECHNOLOGY ECOSYSTEM

Despite a hesitant global economy and the burst of the dot-com bubble, the information technology market is poised to exceed $1 trillion this year and is expected to grow another 40 percent by 2005.

With millions of people employed at hundreds of thousands of information technology companies around the world, it's clear that the high-tech industry continues to serve as an engine of global economic growth and opportunity.

In just the last two decades, we have seen the tremendous growth of a global "technology ecosystem" of companies that create hardware, software and services for businesses, governments, educational institutions and consumers worldwide. A recent study by IDC found that from 1995 to 2001, growth in the IT industry outpaced the broader economy in all 28 countries they studied, and is expected to grow 45 percent or more over the next several years in at least half of those countries.

The global technology ecosystem is an engine of economic growth and opportunity that will exceed $1 trillion this year.

The introduction of the PC in 1981 was one of the catalysts for this tremendous growth. Prior to this, few computers were compatible with one another. The software and hardware you bought would only work reliably on one model of computer, and it was difficult to share information with partners and colleagues who used a different model. The expense of creating products for dozens of different computers prevented many companies from taking risks to create innovative new products; and the wide range of incompatible software and peripherals from a number of different companies left many companies dependent on a single vendor for everything from hardware to services. The result was fewer choices and higher prices for consumers.

The PC's industry-standard blueprint for hardware and a compatible operating system changed all that. Hardware companies could then compete to build better PCs for their customers, confident that they could run all the popular applications. Software companies could create products that would work well on the greatest number of computers. Other companies introduced development platforms and tools that worked with these standard computers and operating systems, making it even easier for developers to write innovative software. And still more companies offered printers, modems and other peripherals that were easy to configure and use.

Today, more than 750,000 companies around the world design, manufacture and sell PC systems, create compelling software for everything from household finances to advanced scientific research, and build the printers, digital cameras, media players and other peripherals that make computers even more useful. The opportunities surrounding the PC are incredible—the IDC study showed that Microsoft partners generate $8 in revenue for every $1 earned by Microsoft.

The same industry that made the PC a success is now embarking on the next computing revolution—a world in which intelligent devices will connect people, businesses, information and services wherever and whenever needed. This next transformation—building on open Internet standards such as XML (eXtensible Markup Language)—will offer incredible new computing experiences for people and businesses and vast new growth opportunities for tens of thousands of companies around the world.

As the world of computing expands to encompass everything from handheld devices to computer servers that make the world's largest corporations more efficient, agile and secure, Microsoft is committed to enabling people and businesses to fully realize their potential—and to nurturing technology's role in economic growth and prosperity around the world.

One in a series of essays on technology and society. More information is available at microsoft.com/issues.

Microsoft®

© 2002 Microsoft Corporation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE AMERICAN WAY

In his article "Strange Justice" (April 8), Byron York repackages the *Wall Street Journal* editorial board's claim that Democratic members of the Senate Judiciary Committee are puppets controlled by public-interest groups such as People for the American Way, the National Abortion Rights Action League, the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, and the Alliance for Justice.

The same kind of argument could be concocted to suggest that GOP senators are puppets of right-wing groups, citing as evidence Orrin Hatch's portrayal of the nomination battle as a "lynching" two days after the Eagle Forum made the same awful analogy. Either argument is ludicrous to anyone who knows the Democratic and Republican senators and how they work. It is in fact the clear constitutional responsibility of Senate Judiciary Committee members to carefully examine the records of federal judicial nominees.

The rest of Mr. York's piece is similarly divorced from reality. To assert, as he does, that Judge Pickering had only a "few small groups" in his corner and that there "simply was no group fighting on behalf of Pickering that had anything approaching the coalition's resources" is patently false.

The Eagle Forum, the Family Research Council, Concerned Women for America, the American Center for Law and Justice, the Center for Reclaiming America, the Free Congress Foundation, the American Conservative Union, Citizens for a Sound Economy, the Sixty-Second Activist, the American Family Association, and Focus on the Family all issued press releases, "action alerts," or otherwise called upon their members to contact their senators or members of the committee and urge them to confirm Judge Pickering.

In addition, groups such as Concerned Women for America and the Family Research Council ran ad campaigns targeting Senate majority leader Tom Daschle, Sen. Joseph Biden, Sen. Herb Kohl, and Sen. Russ Feingold. American Renewal, the legislative arm of the Family Research Council, ran ads in South Dakota accusing Sen. Daschle of "obstructing the process by which judicial nominees are confirmed" and calling Pickering and other judicial nominees "Daschle Detainees." For its part, Concerned Women for America ran ads in Wisconsin, South Dakota, Pennsylvania, and Delaware defending Pickering while urging listeners to contact their senators and warn them not to allow special-interest groups "to destroy the reputations of good men and women," and "use [African Americans] to do it."

Mr. York estimates that the combined revenue of groups that opposed the confirmation approaches $50 million, failing to note the much larger total for the judge's supporters. According to the most recent information available from Guidestar.com, Concerned Women for America brought in $11,032,216 in 2001 and the American Center for Law and Justice, $12,156,744. In 2000, Coral Ridge Ministries had $42,417,532 in revenue and Focus on the Family, $128,805,413. Other Pickering boosters' 2000 revenues: American Family Association, $11,460,446; Family Research Council, $10,045,855; Eagle Forum, $2,320,060; Free Congress Foundation, $2,680,004. In other words, Mr. York's attempt to portray the Pickering battle as a David-and-Goliath struggle is way off base. And that's not including the priceless bully pulpit of the White House, which President Bush is now using to campaign for Senate candidates who will support his judicial nominees.

To suggest that the well-organized and richly funded right-wing political movement is not engaged in a long-term strategic effort to gain ideological domination over the federal judiciary is to ignore both recent history and current frenzied activity. In fact, this movement has been actively engaged in judicial-nomination battles for many years, including successful efforts to prevent many Clinton circuit-court nominees from getting a committee hearing or Senate vote. Indeed, right-wing senators blocked 35 percent of Clinton's circuit-court nominees from 1995 to 2000.

The future of the federal judiciary is a struggle of monumental importance. The sustained campaign to overturn the constitutional framework of the past 65 years and roll back decades of legal and civil-rights achievements is nearer to completion than ever before. It is the success of the right wing's campaign for control of the judiciary, and the far-reaching consequences for Americans' rights and freedoms, that have compelled action by broad coalitions of organizations concerned with civil and constitutional rights, women's rights, environmental protections, and much more.

With all that at stake, it is imperative that we have a broader national debate about the Constitution and the judiciary. I hope that NATIONAL REVIEW'S future contributions to the debate will be more solidly grounded in reality.

Ralph G. Neas, President
People for the American Way
Washington, D.C.

BYRON YORK REPLIES: *Start with what Mr. Neas does not address in his letter. My central argument was that People for the American Way and other liberal interest groups worked closely with Senate Democrats to kill the Pickering nomination, serving as the "de facto research arm" of Democrats whose actions "closely tracked demands made by the coalition." The story presented evidence detailing People for the American Way's intensive research on Pickering, showing how the group requested court documents that no other group, left or right, had seen. The piece also highlighted a case in which a Democratic senator used information to question Pickering that could only have come from People for the American Way.*

Mr. Neas disputes none of that. Instead, he argues that the Right did the same thing. His sole evidence is that Sen. Orrin Hatch used the word "lynching" to describe the attack on Pickering, the same word a conservative group had used two days earlier. That's not exactly an air-tight case. While the word was clearly excessive when Hatch said it, it wasn't exactly new; Mr. Neas may remember that one of his earlier targets, Supreme Court justice Clarence Thomas, famously used it in a confirmation context more than a decade ago.

Mr. Neas then argues that there was a rich and powerful conservative coalition fighting on Pickering's behalf. That is simply not the case. While there are indeed rich and powerful groups on the right, none of them did anything for Pickering that even remotely resembled the work that Mr. Neas did against him. For example, the Concerned Women for America ads ran on March 12 and 13, just before the committee vote on Pickering—and a time at which the nomination had long been considered dead. Similarly, the Family Research Council's "Daschle Detainees" ad ran in South Dakota in the last week of February and the first week of March—also far too late to help Pickering. The same could be said for the groups' press releases. In any event, conservative groups did none of the comprehensive opposition research that Mr. Neas's staff engaged in so effectively.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In 20 years, she'll be ready to buy her first home. We're already arranging the financing.

In the next ten years, 65 million families will want to buy homes. Fifteen million for the first time. They will expect low-cost mortgage money to be readily available, just as it has for the last 30 years. So will your children. So will their children.

Our job is to help make sure they're not disappointed. We're Freddie Mac. We exist for the sole purpose of establishing and maintaining a stable and adequate supply of funds to be used exclusively to finance homes. Not cars, not boats, not vacations. Just homes.

It's a very public mission few companies are prepared to carry out. It requires not only a singular focus on homeownership, but what Moody's Investors Service calls a "deeply ingrained risk-conservatism." A company Moody's ranks "among the best financial firms worldwide."

Which simply means "we'll be ready when she is." For more on how we expand homeownership, visit freddiemac.com.

Freddie Mac

We Open Doors®

www.freddiemac.com

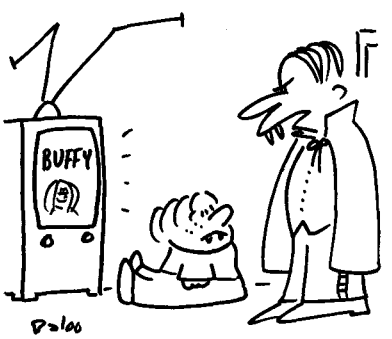
©2002 Freddie Mac

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ FOR THE RECORD ■

■ In Fox News poll, President **Bush**'s approval rating is 76 percent, down from 83 percent in January. . . . Bush on trade-promotion authority: "We cannot let this initiative fall victim to partisan politics. Our trading partners are waiting for us. American workers are depending on us. And America cannot afford further delay." . . . Bush on **Al Gore**'s criticisms of his environmental record, in *Washington Post*: "Haven't paid attention to them." . . . "You stand against an evil—an evil of mass murderers," says defense secretary **Donald Rumsfeld** to troops in Kyrgyzstan. "It's an evil that can't be appeased, it can't be ignored, and it certainly cannot be allowed to prevail." . . . Rumsfeld, to troops in Afghanistan: "To the extent that weapons of mass destruction come into the hands of terrorists and terrorist networks, we're talking about not thousands of people, but tens of thousands of people and potentially hundreds of thousands of people, being killed." . . . **Paul Weyrich**, in *Washington Post*: "Conservatives in a broad cross section of the movement are getting very uneasy about this presidency." . . . **Gary Bauer**, on *Good Morning America*: "Instead of criticizing the Israeli government over the past three weeks, we ought to have been congratulating them for the victory they've had over terrorism." . . . In CBS News poll, 67 percent say Israelis are justified in taking military action in response to terrorist attacks.

■ Bush adviser **Karl Rove**, in *National Journal*: "It's very rare that a party in power that holds the White House makes gains in this [2002] election. On the other hand, it's very rare that a party gains seats in the U.S. House of Representatives four elections in a row, which is the task the Democrats face." . . . Democratic pollster **Mark Mellman**: "Democrats running against George Bush this year have a big problem. But, of course, there are no Democrats running against George Bush this year." . . . Political analyst **Charlie Cook** identifies six senators "highly vulnerable" to defeat in November: **Wayne Allard** (R., Colo.), **Jean Carnahan** (D., Mo.), **Tim Hutchinson** (R., Ark.), **Tim Johnson** (D., S.D.), **Bob Smith** (R., N.H.), and **Paul Wellstone** (D., Minn.). . . . In University of New Hampshire poll, Rep. **John Sununu** leads Sen. Smith in GOP primary, 59 percent to 30 percent. . . . **Stephen Moore** of Club for Growth sends letter to Rove: "I wanted to share with you my dismay that the White House is systematically intervening in many GOP primaries on behalf of liberal-leaning Republicans against economic conservatives. . . . What is particularly frustrating to us is that the president has even intervened on behalf of candidates who have opposed this administration's economic agenda." . . . As D.C. mayor **Anthony Williams** (D.) hosts fundraiser for Rep. **Connie Morella** (R., Md.), Del. **Eleanor Holmes Norton** (D., D.C.) calls him "either naïve or stupid" for doing it.



"What are you doing watching trash like that?"

■ Sen. **Don Nickles** (R., Okla.) is "testing the waters of a possible leadership challenge to **Trent Lott**," reports **Jonathan Karl** of CNN. . . . Gore: "Did a majority of the American people endorse [Bush's] policies in the election? He won the election and he is our president, but he ought to be a little bit more careful about claiming that a majority of the voters endorsed his policy payoffs to polluters who pressured him to break his promises to the public." . . . Rep. **Charlie Rangel** (D., N.Y.) on **Bill Clinton**: "the last elected president of the U.S." . . . **Matt Brooks** of Republican Jewish Coalition, in *Wall Street Journal*: "This president has an opportunity to realign the Jewish community in the same way **FDR** did after World War II."

■ Philadelphia mayor **John Street** at NAACP meeting, according to *Philadelphia Inquirer*: "The brothers and sisters are running this city. Running it! Don't you let nobody fool you; we are in charge of the City of Brotherly Love. We are in charge!" . . . **Ward Connerly** submits nearly 1 million signatures to qualify Racial Privacy Initiative for California ballot, either this November or March 2004. . . . At University of Virginia Law School, odds favoring black applicant over equally qualified white one in 1999 were 731 to 1, according to study by Center for Equal Opportunity. . . . Sen. **Phil Gramm** (R., Texas) on his interest in becoming president of Texas A&M University, in *Dallas Morning News*: "You've got to remember, I was in academics 25 years ago, and it is much meaner than the politics I've been in up here [in Washington]. I don't know that I'm up to it." . . . National security adviser **Condoleezza Rice** on her desire to become NFL commissioner, in *New York Times*: "That's absolutely right—though not immediately and not before **Paul Tagliabue** is ready to step down. I want to say that for the record."

■ Russian president **Vladimir Putin** in national address: "We are used to complaining about Russian bureaucracy, about its size and slowness. And our complaints are entirely justified." . . . Russia kills Chechnyan warlord **Omar Ibn al Khattab**, believed to have al-Qaeda ties. . . . Cuban activists collect 10,000 signatures demanding referendum to guarantee free speech, free association, amnesty for political prisoners, free elections, and right to private enterprise. . . . Quebec plans to legalize same-sex "unions," though it won't call them "marriages." Nova Scotia was first Canadian province to do it.

■ **David Letterman**: "Today is 'Take Our Daughters to Work Day.' It was started 20 years ago by a quick-thinking **Ted Kennedy**, when he was seen leaving his office with an 18-year-old." **NR**

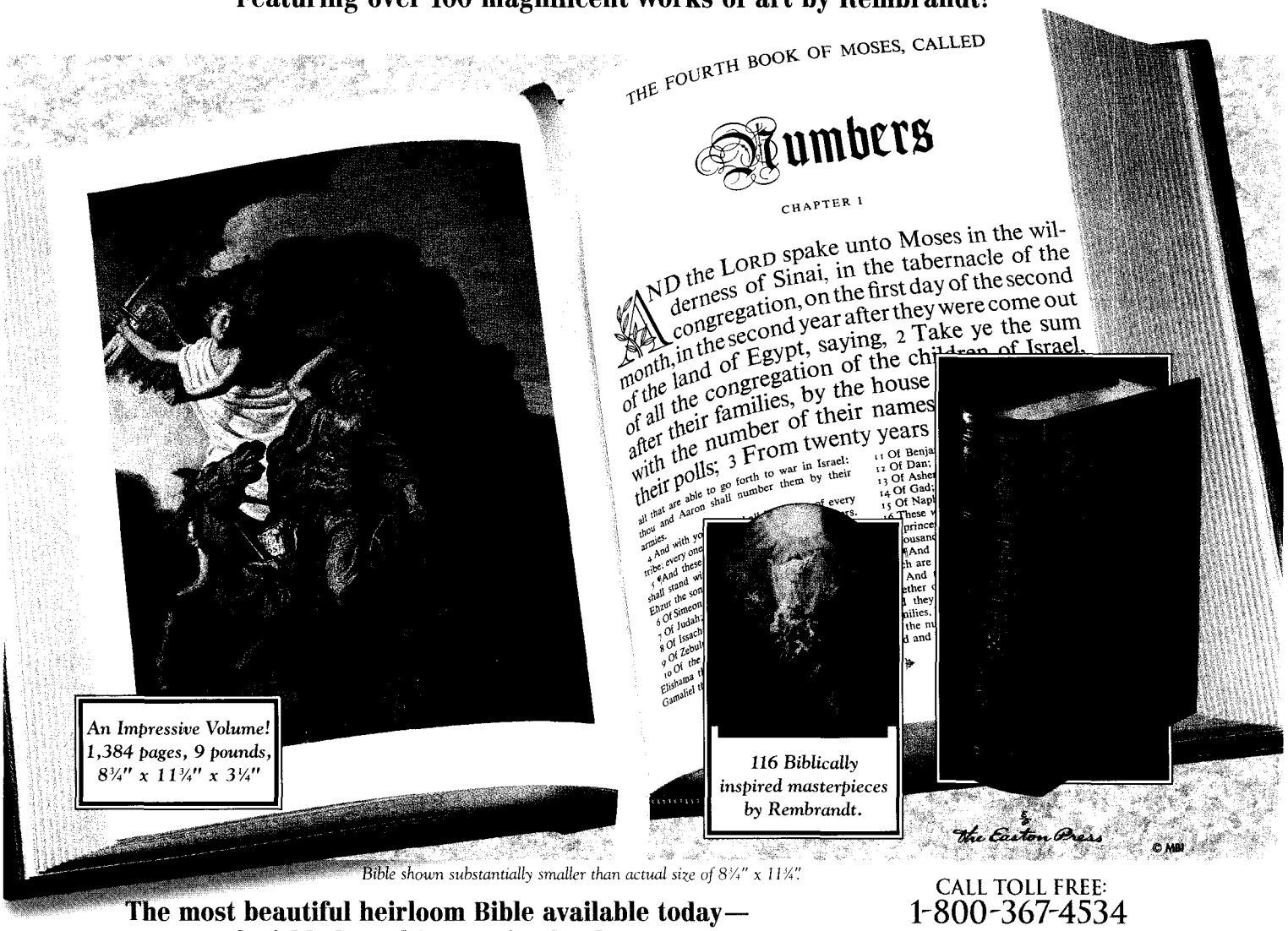
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LEATHER-BOUND, WITH 22KT GOLD ACCENTS.

THE REMBRANDT FAMILY BIBLE

from Easton Press

Featuring over 100 magnificent works of art by Rembrandt!


THE FOURTH BOOK OF MOSES, CALLED
Numbers
CHAPTER 1
AND the LORD spake unto Moses in the wilderness of Sinai, in the tabernacle of the congregation, on the first day of the second month, in the second year after they were come out of the land of Egypt, saying, 2 Take ye the sum of all the congregation of the children of Israel, after their families, by the house with the number of their names their polls; 3 From twenty years
An Impressive Volume! 1,384 pages, 9 pounds, 8¾" x 11¾" x 3¼"
116 Biblically inspired masterpieces by Rembrandt.
The Easton Press
© MBI

Bible shown substantially smaller than actual size of 8¾" x 11¾".

The most beautiful heirloom Bible available today—lavishly bound in genuine leather and gloriously accented with 22kt gold.

This is the kind of Family Bible "they don't make anymore." Even among the heirloom Bibles of old, you won't find its equal in beauty, craftsmanship, illustrations or meaningful Bible study enhancements. It is fully bound in premium leather and accented on the hubbed spine with precious 22kt gold. The traditional King James text is beautifully printed in large, readable type. Highlighting this edition are 116 awe-inspiring masterpieces by Rembrandt, the most religiously inspired of the old masters.

Everything a Family Bible should be!

Among its outstanding features are:

- An illuminated section for recording family history, including births, confirmations, marriages and family genealogy.
- Study and reference guides.
- A 225-page Bible encyclopedia with over 20,000 entries on every Bible topic... including summaries of every book of the Bible.
- A daily reading plan that will take you through the entire Bible in a year.
- Clear, readable type and generous margins.

This is by far the most complete Family Bible available today.

Convenient acquisition plan.

No other edition of the Holy Bible, in any binding, at any price, available today can compare with this 1,384-page masterpiece. *The Rembrandt Family Bible* can be yours for five monthly installments of $41.50 each, including shipping and handling. Order your copy today!

CALL TOLL FREE:
1-800-367-4534

RESERVATION APPLICATION

Easton Press
47 Richards Avenue
Norwalk, CT 06857

Call Toll Free:
1-800-367-4534
24 Hours a Day

YES, please send me *The Rembrandt Family Bible*. I will pay for my Bible in five monthly installments as described in this announcement. My satisfaction is guaranteed, as I may return the Bible within 30 days for a replacement or full refund.

☐ **Please charge the first installment to my credit card at the time of shipment:**
☐VISA ☐MasterCard ☐Discover ☐Am. Ex.

Credit Card No. **Exp. Date**

☐ I will pay by check. Enclosed is $41.50* payable to Easton Press for my first installment.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State _____ Zip _____

Signature _____
(All applications are subject to acceptance.)

**Includes shipping and handling. Any applicable sales tax will be billed with shipment. Prices are in U.S. funds. Higher shipping and handling outside the U.S. Allow 4 to 6 weeks for shipment.*

251-073

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK

■ Prof. Bernard Lewis, dean of Middle East scholars, to Charlie Rose on PBS: "Asking Arafat to give up terrorism would be like asking Tiger Woods to give up golf."

■ Appearing in the court where he is to be tried as the "20th hijacker," Zacarias Moussaoui minced no words. The French-born Moroccan said he prayed for the "destruction of the United States of America" and the "destruction of the Jewish people and state." They must have skipped the religion-of-peace lesson plan when Zach was at madrassa. Such stuff appears all the time in Middle Eastern newspapers and on al-Jazeera, but it was good to hear it in an American court, where it couldn't be ignored, or fuzzed away by make-nice translations. He will keep talking; America should keep listening.

■ The controversy over cloning involves complicated issues about which few people know much. So it's understandable that both sides of the controversy would seek shorthand descriptions that incline the casual reader or viewer in their favor. But the pro-cloning lobby, confronted with polls suggesting that the public is against it, has crossed the line into deception. First they tried to pretend there was a distinction between "reproductive cloning" and "therapeutic cloning," when in truth the procedures are the same except that in the former the cloned embryo is allowed to develop into a baby while in the latter the embryo is destroyed. Now a pro-cloning group is running an ad that denies that therapeutic cloning is "cloning" at all. "Is it cloning?" asks one character in the ad. "Nooo . . ." comes the reply. "Uses an unfertilized egg and a skin cell." But that's the way clones are made, and until this point in the debate nobody has pretended otherwise. A new Senate bill to permit therapeutic cloning follows the same pretense as the ad: It defines "cloning" as the implantation of a cloned embryo in a womb, and so claims to outlaw cloning even though it actually authorizes it. Proponents of cloning are fond of presenting themselves as the party of science, reason, and knowledge. Their shabby tactics belie these claims.

■ The Catholic Church is wallowing in a perfect storm of obloquy. The odious deeds committed by its functionaries, and under its aegis, are great. As decent Catholics strive to assign blame, much of it inevitably falls on the gay subculture in the priesthood. The Catholic lavender mafia, be it noted, is not composed of those gay priests who have chosen a celibate life, but of gay priests who have let the good times roll—and some who have preyed on minors. America's gay subculture is now pushing back at its accusers, to wit Msgr. Eugene Clark (a longtime friend of NR), who touched this cultural third rail in a homily he delivered at St. Patrick's Cathedral. Finally, the Church confronts a civic culture that expects it to hew to modern political and media norms—what did you know, when did you know it, and tell us now. The hierarchy's painfully slow responses are due in part to its different time scale. The Roman Catholic Church existed long before America was discovered, will exist long after the United States disappears, and has seen many scandals. This vantage is not an unmixed blessing, since it easily slides into sloth and pride. The Church must clean out its American seminaries; Cardinal Law should resign as archbishop of Boston and be reassigned to some post far from the levers of administration. Catholics must pray, as they have in the past, for saints to put their house in order.

■ The House has overwhelmingly passed a bill dissolving the INS, dividing the agency's functions in two, with one part devoted to immigration enforcement (such as the Border Patrol) and the other to administrative duties (such as processing green cards). This is probably worth doing, but expectations must remain modest. Improving what may be the most dysfunctional part of the federal government will require more than rearranging its organizational chart. The bill also shouldn't be viewed as immigration reform—it's merely the reform of a bureaucracy dedicated to immigration. The implementation of our immigration policy may be worth fixing, but so is that policy itself.

■ Immigration policy, in fact, is on the verge of breaking down even further. The open-borders lobby recently enjoyed a near success in its attempt to enact a law allowing illegal aliens who have applied for residency to pick up their green cards inside the United States when they become eligible for them. This quasi-amnesty already has passed the House, but it was delayed in the Senate by Robert Byrd before being stricken from a border-security bill. Yet its support remains strong inside the White House and among Democrats, and there is every reason to think proponents are just taking a little siesta before they move to pass it again. When they do, they deserve to fail once more.

■ Liberal senator Jon Corzine has had to abandon his plan to increase regulations and taxes on 401(k) plans. The AFL-CIO has dropped its support for the idea. According to the *Los Angeles Times*, union leaders offer tactical explanations for their non-support. But they also admit that their members like their own 401(k)s and are not keen on government meddling with them. More proof, if more is needed, that the expansion of the investor class is moving American politics in a free-market direction.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What Are Education CEOs Up To?

Paul T. Hill is a research professor at the Center on Reinventing Public Education, University of Washington; distinguished visiting fellow, Hoover Institution; and member, Hoover's Koret Task Force on K–12 Education.

We now know a few things about CEOs. Their job is to make their organizations look good, however troubled and ineffective they might be. They do not feel obligated to divulge troubling information that might affect public confidence, cause valuable employees to leave, or make it difficult to recruit in the future.

Education CEOs are no exception. I have learned, in the course of research on the leadership problems of big-city school districts, that superintendents also need to downplay problems. **They put a bright face on negative circumstances out of fear that creating a crisis may lower public confidence or discourage potential successors.**

Superintendents are always ready to tell about "neat things" their districts are doing to turn around troubled schools, develop the skills of deficient teachers, and reduce the achievement gap between poor and middle-class children.

But when pressed they tell a different story. When asked whether the "neat things" are likely to make a big difference, many say no. Professional development cannot turn schools around when virtually the entire teaching staff leaves at the end of the year. Schools serving the poorest children need longer school days and school years than other schools. Primary schools serving the poorest neighborhoods need simpler, more literacy-focused curricula than other schools. Troubled schools cannot improve if schools in the "nicer" neighborhoods always get a disproportionate share of the respected and experienced teachers.

Superintendents also know that pressing for fundamental changes in public schools might cost them their jobs. One administrator stated that "you can start something that might make a difference but you would never survive long enough to see it work out." Another said that superintendents "are constantly choosing between initiatives that might work but would get you fired and initiatives that are too weak to do much but might survive long enough to make a little bit of difference."

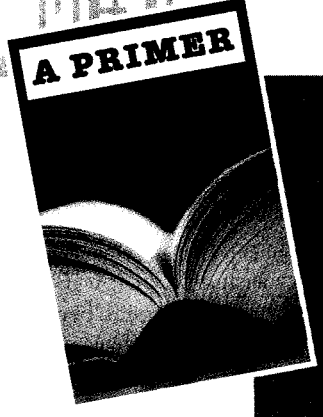
Doing what is needed would require reallocating money and personnel and looking outside the system for new ideas and people. Money is a huge issue: in the words of one superintendent, "You need to be able to change how every dollar is spent." But that might require funds from existing programs and schools in upper-income neighborhoods. Influential neighborhoods have the programs and teachers parents want, and they won't give them up readily.

Many superintendents also feel whipsawed between teachers and their unions. According to one administrator, "We can get union agreement for one thing, or cooperation from individual teachers for another, but we can rarely get both the union and the teachers to agree at the same time."

Superintendents have ideas about how to solve the persistent problems of public education. But like business CEOs they are programmed to pretend that all is well and that all problems will shortly be conquered. Donors to public education assume that the superintendent will tell them what is needed, which is not a safe assumption. Like investors in the stock market, policymakers and philanthropists need to ask hard and impolite questions.

— Paul T. Hill

Paid for by the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.



Want to learn more about K–12 education policy?

Visit us on-line at **www.hoover.org** *or contact us to receive a complimentary copy of* A Primer on America's Schools*—11 chapters by Hoover's Koret Task Force on K–12 Education.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ The Racketeer-Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act of 1970 is, as its name implies, directed against organized crime. In the last ten years, however, feminists have used the statute against pro-life organizations—both to block them from holding demonstrations and to bankrupt them. Notre Dame law professor G. Robert Blakey, who helped draft the law as a Senate aide, insists that it was narrowly drafted to avoid precisely this kind of abuse. The Supreme Court, which will hear a case on the subject, should restore the original intent of the law.

■ In many states, low-cost, low-coverage health-insurance plans are illegal. State governments have piled on mandates requiring plans to cover any conceivable health problem—with the result that insurance is too expensive for many employers to offer or employees to buy. In recent years, the federal government has been issuing mandates of its own. The latest proposal in Congress would mandate "parity" for mental illness. If it passes, employers who offer coverage for mental illness will have to do so on the same terms on which they cover other health costs. Deductibles, co-payments, and limits on outpatient care will all have to be equal. Unless, that is, employers decide not to deal with the expense by dropping their coverage of mental illness, or dropping their health plans altogether. President Bush, too intent on proving his compassion (with other people's money), has more or less endorsed the bill. At a time when health-insurance premiums are rising at a double-digit clip, all Washington can think to do is add to the problem.

■ In April, the Landmark Legal Foundation filed a complaint with the Department of Labor, charging the National Education Association with appropriating millions in tax-exempt member dues for political purposes. The federal Labor and Management Reporting Act requires the NEA to disclose such expenditures both to its 2.7 million members and to the Labor Department; Landmark's brief shows that the NEA has failed to do either since at least 1994. These days even the union's own brass scarcely trouble to conceal the NEA's political involvement—in a recent speech, for instance, available online, NEA general counsel Robert Chanin told fellow union officials that they had been "singled out because of our political power and effectiveness at all levels, because we have the ability to help implement the type of liberal social and economic agenda that they find unacceptable." The NEA's doubletalk is so blatant, no one has even thought to question it. Thanks to Landmark, maybe now someone will.

■ Fidel Castro's charm offensive continues apace. With so many U.S. politicos and celebrities lining up to pay court to him, it's a wonder he has time to pummel the Cuban people. Most recently, Mickey Hart, drummer for the Grateful Dead, accompanied Sen. Barbara Boxer to Cuba, and came back with glowing praise for the dictator. Before taking the trip, Hart had promised to "talk straight with him" and "ask Fidel the hard questions . . . about elections [and] human rights." It appears that Hart didn't quite get around to that. Hart declared Castro "funny, serious, engaging, and charismatic," and "a great hang." They bonded over a typical dinner, lasting until 4 A.M. "I didn't play, but we talked music," said Hart. "In my presentation to him, I talked about Pythagoras and Confucius, and he stopped me on Confucius and wanted to know more about music." Confucius say: *Yanquis* who sup with Fidel go crazy. Oh: Hart also asked Castro for a set of fatigues like the ones the dictator wears, and Castro was happy to oblige—although the drummer opted against the generalissimo star, because his wife would object. A great hang, indeed—unless you happen to hang in Cuba permanently.

■ On April 28, a dozen armed Islamic militants entered a Christian village in Indonesia, shouting "Kill them all!" Witnesses said they tossed grenades, set fires, and shot randomly at people. By the time the raid was over, 12 people, including a six-month-old infant, were dead, 30 houses were destroyed, and a church was in cinders. Since interreligious violence began in Maluku province in 1999, thousands have been killed, and, according to the 2001 human-rights report from the State Department, "thousands of Christians in Maluku have been forced to convert to Islam." The political scientist Samuel P. Huntington wrote in 1996: "Muslim bellicosity and violence are late-twentieth-century facts which neither Muslims nor non-Muslims can deny." Things have not improved in the early 21st century.

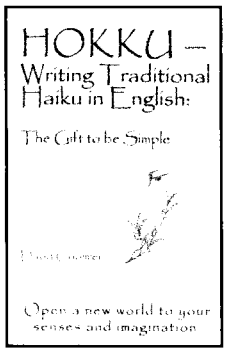
■ Anyone reading about the horrors of the Israel–Palestine conflict must occasionally wonder: Why not send a bunch of good, practical economists and financial experts into the West Bank to get a decent economy started there? You could lean on European and American banks to set up microfinance projects and capital markets for Palestinians. You could have Jordan, the Palestinian Authority, and Israel set up a free-trade zone and coordinate tourist promotion. (With a pleasant climate, three great religions calling them home, and a stunning archeological site every hundred yards, Israel and Palestine ought to be the mother of all tourist destinations.) You could structure a "peace index" mutual fund with stocks from Tel Aviv, Nablus, and Amman. You could . . . Alas, it has already been tried. In a heartbreaking article in the *Los Angeles Times*, Glenn Yago of the Milken Institute told of his efforts to help get a rational economy off the ground in the Palestinian Authority during 2000 and 2001. What went wrong? Let him tell you: "We forgot that the Palestinian Authority, despite the many enlightened and hard-working Palestinians we met with, was not a market democracy with the transactional trust required for commerce and investment, but simply a gangland dictatorship running a protection racket."

■ One of the great PLO propaganda points is that Israel has blocked Palestinian ambulances rushing to hospitals. Of course, it has had to stop and search ambulances because Palestinian extremists have used them to ferry terrorists and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TEMPLEGATE PUBLISHERS

templegate.com

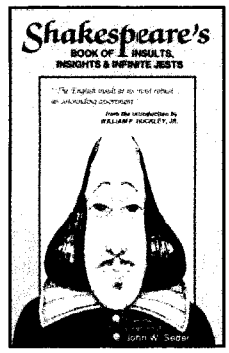


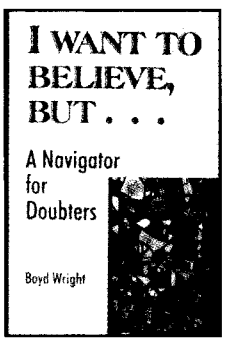
Hokku – Writing Traditional Haiku in English: The Gift to be Simple
by David Coomler
Change your life and experience what Gerard Manley Hopkins calls "the dearest freshness deep down things" by turning from your present distractions and learning to write haiku.
ISBN 0-87243-255-6 **Paperback**
160 pages **$12.95**

Shakespeare's Book of Insults, Insights & Infinite Jests
Edited by John W. Seder with an introduction by William F. Buckley, Jr.

"The English insult at its most robust...an astounding assortment."
William F. Buckley, Jr.

ISBN 0-87243-128-2 **Paperback**
240 pages **$12.95**



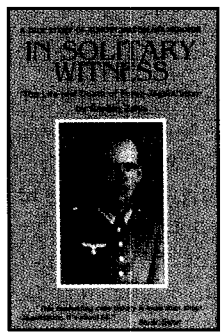


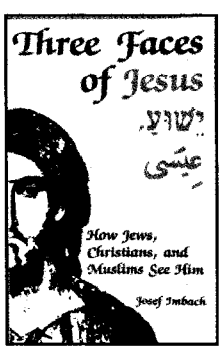
I Want to Believe, but. . .
A Navigator for Doubters
by Boyd Wright
A former *Wall Street Journal* and *NY Daily News* journalist poses, and answers, over 80 of the toughest questions bothering those who want to believe in Christianity.

ISBN 0-87243-248-3 **Paperback**
240 pages **$14.95**

In Solitary Witness
by Gordon Zahn
The true story of almost matchless heroism by an often overlooked Christian martyr to Hitler's terror. "This fascinating case history is more than about Jagerstatter. It's about us."
Studs Terkel

ISBN 0-87243-141-X **Paperback**
278 pages **$12.95**

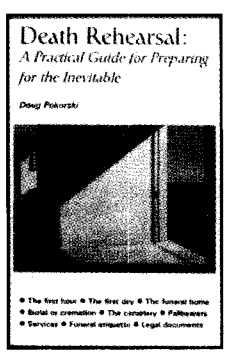


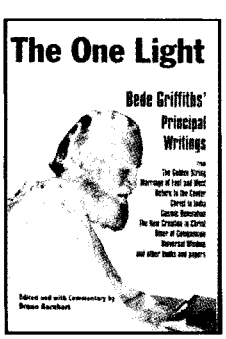


Three Faces of Jesus:
How Jews, Christians & Muslims See Him
by Josef Imbach
The celebrated Swiss theologian graphically illustrates the position of Jesus in all three monotheistic religions in a remarkable book which has won international ecumenical praise.
ISBN 0-87243-194-0 **Paperback**
160 pages **$12.95**

Death Rehearsal: A Practical Guide for Preparing for the Inevitable
by Doug Pokorski
A step-by-step guide to the immediate problems and choices which must be solved and made at a time when a family member dies – a time when we are most vulnerable and unprepared.

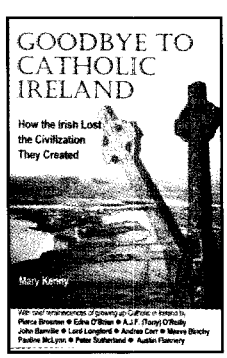
ISBN 0-87243-215-7 **Paperback**
160 pages **$12.95**





The One Light: Bede Griffiths' Principal Writings
edited by Bruno Barnhart
The core teaching of the Catholic monk to whom C.S. Lewis dedicated his autobiography and who in his 38 years in India made a lifetime work of integrating Eastern and Western religious beliefs. "He has opened the hearts and minds of mankind." *The Dalai Lama*
ISBN 0-87243-254-8 **Paperback**
512 pages **$29.95**

Goodbye to Catholic Ireland: How the Irish Lost the Civilization They Created
by Mary Kenny
William Trevor chose this engrossing story of the decline of Catholicism in Ireland and the rise of the Celtic Tiger in a secular state as his Book of the Year. Also interviews with Pierce Brosnan, Maeve Binchy, Heinz's Tony O'Reilly and others.
ISBN 0-87243-245-9 **Paperback**
376 pages **$19.95**



All of these titles can be ordered directly from us or from Amazon.com. We accept MasterCard, VISA or check. Add $3.00 for the first title, $1.00 for each additional. Free shipping on orders of $75.00 or more. Visit our web site to view these and over 100 other fine titles.
templegate.com

Templegate Publishers
302 East Adams Street • PO Box 5152
Springfield, Illinois 62705-5152
Phone: 800-367-4844
Fax: 217-522-3362
E-mail: orders@templegate.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

explosives. (Churches, ambulances, family homes—any old cover will do.) Last month, however, Palestinians did some ambulance-impeding of their own. As Uri Dan reported in the *New York Post*, "Several masked Palestinian radicals dragged three suspected [Palestinian] informers from a car in Ramallah's central Clock Square and shot them before an approving crowd. Some members of the crowd tried to block ambulances from arriving to treat the wounded men . . ." Not all blocked ambulances, it appears, are outrages.

■ The Jewish-American liberal is a stock figure in the political life of the nation. Not a misleading one, either: In the 2000 presidential race, Jewish voters split 4 to 1 for Al Gore. Recent events, however, have gotten a lot of Jews thinking hard. A *New York Times* report on current attitudes turned up Mr. Max Rovner, a Chicago lawyer, joining a political demonstration—the first he had ever participated in—to support Israel. As a liberal, Mr. Rovner averred, he had looked on NATIONAL REVIEW with disdain, but, as the *Times* reported, "now, as a Jew, he feels kinship in its support for Israel." Mr. Rovner himself said: "I'm not going to become a conservative because of this, but I have more regard for the lonely fight these guys fight." On the first point, Mr. Rovner: Don't bet on it. The truth is awfully addictive. On the second: It's not actually that lonely out here, and in any case we few, we happy few, manage to have some fun doing what we do. Fear not.

■ The Minneapolis *Star Tribune* will not refer to suicide bombers—who target and kill civilians—as terrorists. This is the same paper that won't refer to the Cleveland Indians as the Cleveland Indians—the paper, according to policy, must call them "the Cleveland baseball team." It stands to reason, really: A paper that won't call the Cleveland Indians the Cleveland Indians won't call terrorists terrorists.

■ We knew that the Hollywood glitterati contributed generously to People for the American Way, the liberal interest group that, among other things, takes a leading role in attacking conservative judicial nominees. But we didn't know—until Byron York reported it on National Review Online—that big media institutions like the *New York Times*, CBS, and Time, Inc., have also given financial support to PAW. It turns out that those giants have been spending thousands of dollars to buy tables at PAW fundraising dinners. Fortunately, we have long been assured that there's no liberal bias in the media. Otherwise, we might be concerned.

■ Avant-gardist Tracey Emin's "confessional" style has made her a darling of the London galleries and, reputedly, Britain's wealthiest female artist. Her most celebrated piece, *My Bed*—comprising an unmade bed with vodka bottles, bloody underwear, and a used condom—sold for £150,000 and was shortlisted for the 1999 Turner Prize. In March, however, Emin was to find that genius has its drawbacks: Her cat ran away from home, and every reward flyer she posted was immediately taken down by scavengers eager for an Emin "original." A spokeswoman explained in the London *Times*: "It's simply a notice to alert neighbors. It's not a conceptual piece of work and it has nothing to do with her art." Collectors, paying no notice, forked over as much as £500 apiece. And we will perhaps see those posters again—on the shortlist for the 2003 Turner Prize.

■ Ruth Handler, the originator of the Barbie doll, died. One of ten children of an immigrant blacksmith from Russia, Mrs. Handler started a giftware business with her husband in their garage. It became Mattel in 1945, and Barbie was launched upon an unsuspecting world 14 years later. The rest is history. Controversy, too: Feminist groups like NOW ran a hate campaign against Barbie, arguing that she established an unattainable standard of feminine beauty, thereby exposing young girls to eventual disillusion and despair. (The original Barbie, scaled up to life size, would measure 39-21-33.) Mrs. Handler must have laughed all the way to the bank—while juggling successful marriage, career, and motherhood through the 1940s and 1950s, a feminist role model *avant la lettre*. R.I.P.

■ Her name was Linda Boreman, but the world knew her as Linda Lovelace, star of the 1972 porn film *Deep Throat*. The movie marked a moment in the evolution of filmed smut: It had higher production values than the fare of old smokers, and it had no Age of Aquarius countercultural baggage. It pretended to be a movie, so that people who were middle class could pretend not to be slumming when watching it. Claiming that her husband at the time forced her to make the movie with threats of violence, Miss Boreman briefly became a feminist icon. Very likely her husband did brutalize her: Who but a thug and a pimp would have his wife a porn star? (Her screen surname, ironically, was the same as that of the rapist villain in Samuel Richardson's *Clarissa*.) Very likely she courted her own degradation, as her sadly aimless post-porn life suggests. Died from injuries suffered in a car crash at age 53. R.I.P.

FLORIDA!

Everything's up to date in Tallahassee;
The hanging and the dimpled have been dumped,
While boring Bill McBride
Runs like an ebbing tide
And Reno leaves the shuffleboarders slumped.
How odd to hear the sound of manic cheering—
Gore sweated so, tout *Tampa looked away:*
But in the boonies, Bush
(The younger) goes WHOOSH!
As Grand Old Party matrons mouth hurray.

—W. H. VON DREELE

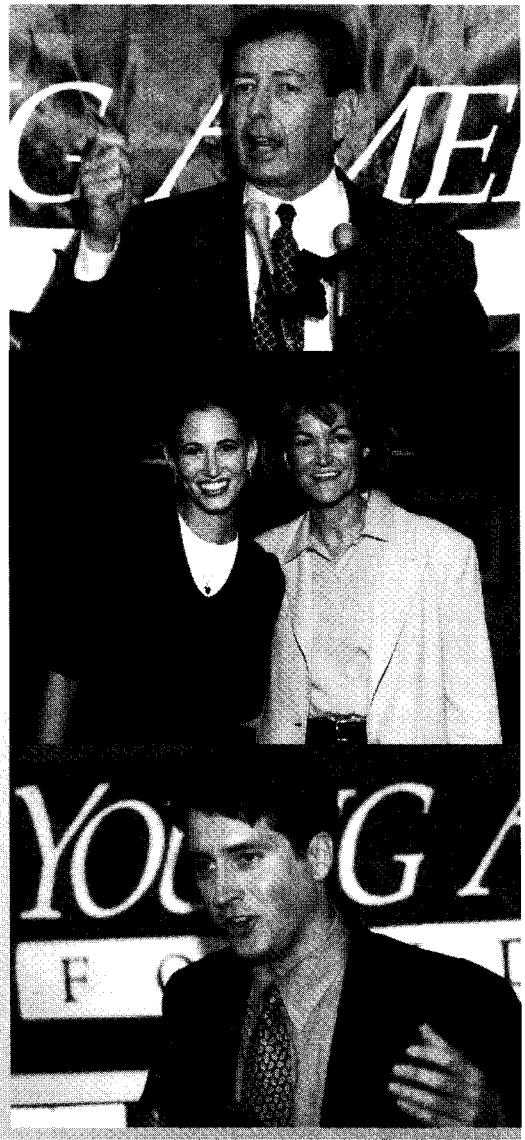
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

YOUNG AMERICA'S FOUNDATION
NATIONAL CONSERVATIVE STUDENT CONFERENCE

JULY 21-27, 2002 - GEORGE WASHINGTON U. - WASHINGTON, D.C.

At the National Conservative Student Conference you will:

- Meet other like-minded students from across the country
- Learn to identify liberal textbook bias and what to do about it
- Receive valuable resource materials that you can use throughout your college career and beyond
- Meet and ask questions of your conservative heroes
- Gain a better understanding of conservatism and its principles
- Improve your critical thinking and debate skills
- Become a more effective advocate for your beliefs
- Hear about a wide range of topics from over 30 of the Conservative Movement's best known authors, journalists, elected officials, commentators, activists, radio personalities, and television hosts



"This conference has taught me more valuable lessons in one week than my college has taught me in perhaps three years." **- Jeremie Arthur, Westfield State College**

National High School Leadership Conference
June 18-23, 2002

Similar to the National Conservative Student Conference, but geared specifically for high school students. For more information about either of the conferences, ***call Melissa at 800-292-9231 or visit www.yaf.org!***

National Journalism Center
800 Maryland Avenue, NE
Washington, DC 20002
202-544-1333

National Headquarters
F.M. Kirby Freedom Center
110 Elden Street
Herndon, Virginia 20170
800-292-9231

The Reagan Ranch Center
217 State Street
Santa Barbara, California 93101
877-797-7325

YOUNG AMERICA'S FOUNDATION

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MIDDLE EAST

Rogue Policies

THE last month or so of Bush-administration Mideast policy may, as some supporters allege, just be part of the plan to transform that region. But the Bush drift has been much easier to discern lately than the Bush mastery. Statecraft can be a messy business, requiring backtracking, illogic, duplicity, and improvisation. None of that need necessarily be fatal to a policy, so long as its goal, and the strategy of getting there, survive the zigs and zags. With the leak of a plan to invade Iraq with a force of up to 250,000 troops next year, and Bush's recent repetition of his "axis of evil" rhetoric, there's no reason to believe that the zigzags have yet overtaken the president's medium-term goal of ending the Baathist regime in Iraq.

But some of Bush's recent statements and actions are disturbing because, if taken seriously as a course for future action, they could get the administration on an entirely different strategic tack: namely, devoting American prestige and energy primarily to finding and enforcing a political solution to the Israeli–Palestinian conflict.

This approach would reflect a fundamental misreading of the Middle East. Terror is not a tool used by liberal regimes and democratic political movements. Neither Hamas nor Islamic Jihad nor Fatah has any desire to create a reasonably free and pluralist Palestinian state. Nor are the regimes that are fostering Palestinian militancy—the Saudis, the Iraqis, the Iranians, the Syrians—free or pluralist. Palestinian terror is more a product of the backward political culture in the Arab world than of legitimate grievances against the Israelis. Trying to ease the terrorism by forcing concessions from the Israelis is treating a symptom rather than the root of the problem.

Because of this, toppling Saddam's fascist regime in Baghdad will do more to becalm the Palestinian conflict than all of Colin Powell's earnest shuttling. Given the dictator's weapons production, taking out Saddam is an important end in itself. But the long-term political ramifications could be even more important. A U.S.-installed regime in Baghdad will increase American leverage in the region, provide an example of decent governance for its immediate neighbors, and create a great (and very helpful) angst in Tehran, Riyadh, and Damascus over the possibility that their corrupt, repressive, and terror-tainted regimes might be next (either because they don't survive the new geopolitical environment or because they become targets).

It is through those capitals that the war on terrorism will ultimately be won. This is why the Bush approach over the last month, even if it is conceived as merely a temporary tactical shift to buy lessened opposition from the Arab governments, is unwise. The administration wants to change the status quo in the Middle East. It is folly, therefore, to expect the forces of the status quo to sit idly by and take it. Instead, through their proxy Yasser Arafat, they have launched a wave of suicide bombings against Israel that have diverted the U.S. and perhaps put off action on Iraq until next year. No amount of pressure on Israel will prompt these regimes to go along with a U.S. invasion of Iraq that they correctly perceive as a threat to their very existence.

The Saudis, of course, are the prime example of the ossified Middle Eastern status quo. So it shouldn't surprise that they are huffing and puffing the hardest about the need to crack down on Israel and postpone an Iraqi action indefinitely. It is dismaying that the chief product of the Crawford summit meeting seems to have been a U.S. pledge to strong-arm Sharon in exchange for yet more promises from the Saudis to control Arafat. Instead, the U.S. should have been pressuring the Saudis to end their promotion of Islamic militancy around the globe, and crack down on the most radical elemetents in their own society. Eventually, as Richard Lowry writes in this issue (page 18), the administration will have to come to the realization that Bush's father's view of Saudi Arabia is outdated: The Saudis are not a partner, and appeasing them is unnecessary and counterproductive.

The administration would be better served by dropping the zigs and zags and adopting a sensible, straightforward Middle Eastern policy that could be—if not liked—at least understood and respected by all parties. To wit, the U.S. won't stand in the way of Israel's self-defense, and won't pressure it into accepting a Palestinian state until the Palestinians create a non-terrorist leadership that is actually worthy of one. The U.S., after all, should be in the business of ending rogue states, not helping to create new ones.

LE PEN

Not So Mighty

JEAN-MARIE LE PEN, the 73-year-old ex-paratrooper who leads the National Front, will almost certainly not be elected president of France. Yet his ability to edge into the two-man run-off against Gaullist incumbent Jacques Chirac, and ahead of the Socialist prime minister Lionel Jospin, rightly made headlines.

Le Pen's vote in the first round—16.9 percent—is virtually his base vote, only slightly better than some of his previous three runs for president. But splinter parties on the left pulled Jospin down to 16.1 percent; Chirac's 19.6 percent showing—deflated by corruption—was the worst ever by an incumbent seeking reelection.

Le Pen's good fortune provoked continental outrage. *Bien-pensant* Europeans vowed to turn back this candidate of the far-right fringe who—as almost every story on him points out—once called the Holocaust a "detail of history." But surely this reaction was what shrinks call displacement. Fighting Le Pen is fighting yesterday's anti-Semitism. When French synagogues have been attacked by Islamist extremists; when French citizen Zacarias Moussaoui has called for the "destruction of the Jewish people" (see above); and when European governments, in a more polite fashion, routinely tilt toward Yasser Arafat, there are more pressing demons afoot.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Explore 3 millennia of genius . . .

With an engaging, thought-provoking recorded course, *The Great Ideas of Philosophy,* taught by Professor Daniel Robinson of Georgetown University.

Immanuel Kant

Francis Bacon

Isaac Newton

John Locke

René Descartes

Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

It comes from the Greek words meaning "love of wisdom." In English, we call it philosophy—the study of the most basic questions we humans have ever pondered. Questions like, What is reality? What are the limits of knowledge? What is (or is not) moral?

No doubt you've asked yourself questions like these. And perhaps you've vowed that one day you would work your way through history's greatest philosophers to reach your own answers.

Now there *is* an uncommonly easy and effective way to understand the abiding issues confronted by the great philosophers of the age. And best of all, you can learn at *your* own pace and convenience. This is the unparalleled learning experience offered you by The Teaching Company's course, **The Great Ideas of Philosophy.**

Great Ideas, a Rare Teacher

This extraordinary 50-lecture series (fully 25 hours of instruction) covers more than 2500 years of thought. Yet, **The Great Ideas of Philosophy** is much more than a survey course. After identifying and explaining the recurring questions of philosophy, Prof. Robinson shows their links to each other across the centuries. What's more, each lecture comes with an outline and a reading list to help you further explore the ideas discussed.

Prof. Robinson teaches philosophy and psychology at Georgetown University, and is a Faculty Fellow at Oxford University. The Teaching Company identified him as a standout lecturer through our exacting search processes. We scour America from coast to coast, sparing no effort to find the best teachers, as identified by their awards and high scores on student evaluations.

Dr. Robinson is one of those rare teachers whose respect for his audience, expertise, and rhetorical flair create an exceptionally enjoyable learning environment. You will want to play the next lecture, and the next, until Plato's *Republic* has given way to Descartes, the *Federalist Papers*, and, ultimately, a discussion of artificial intelligence.

The Great Ideas of Philosophy will take you inside the exciting world of thoughts that have captivated humankind for centuries and inspired great advances in Western civilization.

Order this course today—you may never view philosophy, or the world, in quite the same way again.

The Course Curriculum

SECTION I:
Ancient Foundations ***(Lectures 1-15)***

SECTION II:
Early Modern Thought
(Lectures 16-19)

SECTION III:
From Feudalism to Urbanity—Two Renaissances ***(Lectures 20-24)***

SECTION IV:
The Dawn of the New—The Foundations of the Scientific Worldview ***(Lectures 25-29)***

SECTION V:
Enlightenment ***(Lectures 30-38)***

SECTION VI:
Romanticism ***(Lectures 39-41)***

SECTION VII:
Science and Scientism
(Lectures 42-50)

"A force in adult education."
—New York Times

"Tapes Take Top Teachers into Homes"
—Wall Street Journal

SAVE UP TO $400!
OFFER GOOD UNTIL MAY 18, 2002

No-Risk Money-Back Guarantee!

About Your Professor:

DANIEL ROBINSON is a distinguished Research Professor of Psychology at Georgetown University since 1971. Since 1990, Professor Robinson has lectured in Philosophy at Oxford University, where he is a Faculty Fellow at Linacre College. He is past president of two divisions of the *American Psychological Association: The Division of History of Psychology* and the *Division of Theoretical and Philosophical Psychology.* He is editor of the *Journal of Theoretical and Philosophical Psychology.*

He is author or editor of more than 40 books, including *Wild Beasts & Idle Humours: The Insanity Defense from Antiquity to the Present* (Harvard 1996), *An Intellectual History of Psychology* (3rd edition, Wisconsin, 1995), *The Mind: An Oxford Reader* (Oxford, 1998) *and Aristotle's Psychology* (Columbia, 1989).

Shop securely on-line at:
www.teach12.com

To order, mail coupon below or call our toll-free number: (Please refer to Priority Code 12961)

1-800-TEACH-12 (1-800-832-2412) Fax: 703-378-3819

The Teaching Company
4151 Lafayette Center Drive, Suite 100
Chantilly, VA 20151-1232
www.teach12.com

Priority Code 12961

Please send me The Great Ideas of Philosophy, which consist of fifty 30-minute lectures, with complete lecture outlines.

- ❑ **Audio $64.95** (reg. price $299.95) **SAVE $235!** plus $20 shipping, handling, and guarantee.
- ❑ **Video $99.95** (reg. price $499.95) **SAVE $400!** plus $20 shipping, handling, and guarantee.
- ❑ **CD $89.95** (reg. price $449.95) **SAVE $360!** plus $20 shipping, handling, and guarantee.
- ❑ **Check or Money Order enclosed**

**Additional international shipping charges may apply*
***Virginia residents please add 4.5% sales tax.*

❑ **Charge my:** *(please check desired format)*

❑ VISA ❑ MasterCard ❑ Discover ❑ American Express

Account Number

Signature Exp. Date

Name (please print)

Mailing Address

City/State/Zip

Phone *(If we have questions regarding your order)*

❑ **FREE CATALOG.** Please send me a free copy of your current catalog (no purchase necessary).

Offer Good Through: May 18, 2002

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Where, meanwhile, is the outrage at French extremists of the left? Jospin proudly worked with French Communists, whose party was the most Stalinist in western Europe. Jospin himself, as a not-so-young man, was a Trotskyist, compounding totalitarianism with futility. It was even possible, as François Mitterrand showed, to be a successful ex-fascist, so long as one made one's later career on the left. After 1945, Europe successfully de-Nazified. But after 1991, it did not de-Communize, and it pays the price in inconsistency and self-delusion.

In the late Sixties the American political system was traumatized by George Wallace. Like Le Pen, he was a fiery speaker with unsavory associations. Like Le Pen, his economic ideas were traditionally big-government. But also like Le Pen, he addressed issues that the leadership of the major parties seemed too squeamish to raise. One of Wallace's issues—spiraling crime—is now a problem in France. Le Pen has made hay with high immigration, and loss of national sovereignty to Brussels. On all three issues, Chirac and Jospin offered mush, or worse.

For twelve years, conservative GOP strategists tried to capture the Wallace vote. They also hoped to change it, edging it toward the free market and draining it of racism. This process is called leadership, and after the false dawn of Richard Nixon, it succeeded with Ronald Reagan. There are no comparable figures in France, partly for historical reasons—the French state has been a top-down affair since Louis XIV—partly because the French elite are ensorcelled by visions of a united Europe, in which they hope to play a leading role. If Le Pen indeed goes, things will be different, but not better. As one online wag put it, we have no frog in this fight.

THE SUPREME COURT

Virtual Porn, Real Corruption

THE SUPREME COURT threw out a federal law banning "virtual" child pornography, including both computer-generated images of minors in sexual situations and depictions of minors in sexual situations by adult actors. If the Court had struck down the law because the Constitution reserves the regulation of pornography to states and localities, its decision would perhaps be defensible. But the Court's rationale for its decision was different.

It said that the First Amendment should be presumed to protect pornography that "records no crime and creates no victims by its production." The Court has long held that the amendment applies to states as well as to the federal government (ignoring the fact that it is explicitly directed at "Congress"). So if a state were to ban "virtual" pornography, the federal courts would be obligated under this ruling to block it. The ruling was thus an expansion, not a retrenchment, of federal power.

The Court—and, it must be added, most of the proponents of the law—construed the purpose of child-pornography laws too narrowly. The Court comes close to suggesting that virtual child pornography is a good thing, since it reduces the demand for pornography involving actual children: "[F]ew pornographers would risk prosecution for abusing real children if fictional, computerized images would suffice." But the harm done by child pornography is not limited to the harm done to children exploited in the course of its production.

There is also the harm to public morality, and to the many other children who will suffer if that morality declines—if people who are attracted to sex with children, and the sexualization of children, are told that the law does not frown on this desire and behavior and that it even tolerates a subculture oriented around this desire. The making of "virtual" pornography inflicts *that* harm just as much as pornography involving actual children does.

For most of American history, nobody thought that the Constitution enjoined legislatures from enacting laws to protect public morals. Nobody doubted that such laws were legitimate even if they impinged on "free expression" (sex with a prostitute is an expression of lust, but it can be legally proscribed). Today's Court has a routinized distrust for democratic processes. In this case, it argued that prosecutors and juries would be unable to distinguish between obscenity and *Romeo and Juliet*. Our own view is that the general public can be trusted to draw the appropriate lines—especially when the alternative is to hope that sexual deviants will themselves respect the line between enjoying depictions of sex against children and actually forcing sex on children.

■ NOTES & ASIDES ■

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: On behalf of my entire family, I want to thank you for your tribute to my son Tom [Burnett] in your February 8 letter to subscribers. As a longtime reader and supporter of NATIONAL REVIEW, I was touched by your account of his heroism on September 11, 2001.

I thought you might find of interest the following account of Tom's four cell-phone calls from Flight 93 to his wife, Deena, which she reconstructed from memory shortly thereafter.

It shows that Tom was instrumental in informing his fellow passengers of the atrocities that were occurring in New York and at the Pentagon and in leading them to an act of unparalleled sacrifice and courage that saved thousands of lives and spared a great symbol of our democracy from destruction. Their desire to save others' lives even led them to wait until they were over a rural area before launching their assault on the terrorists.

Tom's last—and greatest—act was completely in his character as a leader, which he often demonstrated during his short life. With no warning, Tom and the other passengers on Flight 93 were suddenly placed in the vanguard of the war on terrorism.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Facing unfathomable choices, Tom was calm, clear-headed, decisive, and fearless. I can only hope that in the days and years to come, the rest of us live up to the standard of character and heroism he set.

"He died as a hero to millions," Tom's longtime friend and fraternity brother Jeff Swanson said. "None of us will likely be in the position in which Tom found himself that morning, so we can't emulate his last acts, but we can emulate how he lived: with character, courage, spirit, curiosity, integrity, and love."

Sincerely,
Thomas E. Burnett Sr.
Bloomington, Minn.

9:27 A.M. [cell-phone call]

Deena: Hello.
Tom: Deena.
Deena: Tom, are you okay?
Tom: No, I'm not. I'm on an airplane that has been hijacked.
Deena: Hijacked?
Tom: Yes, they just knifed a guy.
Deena: A passenger?
Tom: Yes.
Deena: Where are you? Are you in the air?
Tom: Yes, yes, just listen. Our airplane has been hijacked. It's United Flight 93—Newark to San Francisco. We are in the air. The hijackers have already knifed a guy, one of them has a gun, they are telling us there is a bomb on board, please call the authorities.

(He hung up.)

9:34 [the phone rang on *call waiting,* Tom's cell phone]

Deena: Hello.
Tom: They're in the cockpit. The guy they knifed is dead.
Deena: He's dead?
Tom: Yes. I tried to help him, but I couldn't get a pulse.
Deena: Tom, *they are hijacking planes all up and down the East Coast.* They are taking them and hitting designated targets. They've already hit both towers of the World Trade Center.
Tom: They're talking about crashing this plane [a pause]. Oh, my God. It's a suicide mission [he talks to people sitting around him].
Deena: *Who are you talking to?*
Tom: My seatmate. Do you know which airline is involved?
Deena: No, they don't even know if they're commercial airlines or not. The news reporters are speculating: cargo planes, private planes, commercial planes. No one knows.
Tom: How many planes are there?
Deena: They're not sure. At least three. Maybe more.
Tom: Okay, okay. Do you know who is involved?
Deena: No.
Tom: *We're turning back toward New York.* We're going back to the World Trade Center. No, wait, we're turning back the other way. We're going south.
Deena: What do you see?
Tom: Just a minute, I'm looking. I don't see anything, we're over a rural area. It's just fields. I've gotta go.

(He hung up.)

9:45

Tom: Deena.
Deena: Tom, you're okay? [I thought at this point he had just survived the Pentagon plane crash.]
Tom: No, I'm not.
Deena: They just hit the Pentagon.
Tom: [He tells people sitting around him, *"They just hit the Pentagon."*] Okay, okay. What else can you tell me?
Deena: They think five airplanes have been hijacked. One is still on the ground. They believe all of them are commercial planes. I haven't heard them say which airline, but all of them originated on the East Coast.
Tom: Do you know who is involved?
Deena: No.
Tom: I'm wondering what is the probability of their having a bomb on board. I don't think they have one. I think they're just telling us that for crowd control.
Deena: A plane can survive a bomb if it's in the right place.
Tom: Did you call the authorities?
Deena: Yes, they didn't know anything about your plane.
Tom: They're talking about crashing this plane into the ground. We have to do something. I'm putting a plan together.
Deena: Who's helping you?
Tom: Different people. Several people. There's a group of us. Don't worry. I'll call you back.

9:54

Deena: Tom?
Tom: Hi. Anything new?
Deena: No.
Tom: Where are the kids?
Deena: They're fine. They're sitting at the table having breakfast. They're asking to talk to you.
Tom: Tell them I'll talk to them later.
Deena: I called your parents. They know your plane has been hijacked.
Tom: Oh . . . you shouldn't have worried them. How are they doing?
Deena: They're okay. Mary and Martha are with them.
Tom: Good [a long, quiet pause]. We're waiting until we're over a rural area. We're going to take back the airplane.
Deena: *No!* Sit down, be still, be quiet, and don't draw attention to yourself! [the exact words taught to me by Delta Airlines flight-attendant training]
Tom: Deena, if they're going to crash this plane into the ground, we're going to have to do *something.*
Deena: What about the authorities?
Tom: We can't wait for the authorities. I don't know what they could do anyway. It's up to us. I think we can do it.
Deena: What do you want me to do?
Tom: Pray, Deena, just pray.
Deena: [after a long pause] I love you.
Tom: Don't worry, we're going to do something.

(He hung up.)

—WFB

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ THE MIDDLE EAST ■

The Saudi Choice

As before, the House of Saud will have to decide

RICHARD LOWRY

THE Palestinian suicide bomber didn't spring out of nowhere in 1993, when he (and eventually she) began showing up at Israeli supermarkets, pizzerias, and discos. The bomber had a pedigree—in the jihadist philosophy of Khomeini's Iran (which sent young men in suicide waves against Iraq in the Iran–Iraq war and to carry out suicide bombings against American interests in Lebanon); in the cult of revolutionary violence created by Leninism and fascism prior to World War II; and in a tiny northern Arabian village called al-Artawiya in 1912.

It was there, as Robert Lacey recounts in his book *The Kingdom*, that a band of Wahhabi religious fanatics settled to start a movement that would become known as the Ikhwan (the Brotherhood). The Ikhwan sought to bring their Islamic puritanism to the religiously wayward Bedouins of Arabia, spreading a hatred of all things modern—with the prominent exception of the rifle. It was the genius of the founder of modern Saudi Arabia, Ibn Saud, to realize what a potent force the Ikhwan could be for his political and military ambitions in Arabia. Political turf battles were amenable to haggling and bargains. "But when the question is one of religion," Ibn Saud's grandfather, an expert in the family business, once explained, "we kill everybody."

The Saudi leader had his prized gramophone smashed publicly to confirm his Wahhabi credentials for the Ikhwan. Then he fostered Ikhwan settlements throughout Arabia, creating cadres of militants that he eventually hurled against his Hashemite enemies. The Ikhwan made extraordinary warriors, not just because they were born to the Bedouin tradition of raiding, but because, as Lacey puts it, "each brother rode into battle confident that he was a soldier of God, destined for immediate entry, if killed, to Allah's garden of streams, greenery, and luscious houris [maidens]." In other words, they welcomed death, in terms that live on in Palestinian suicide bombers today.

The Crawford kids by Roman Genn

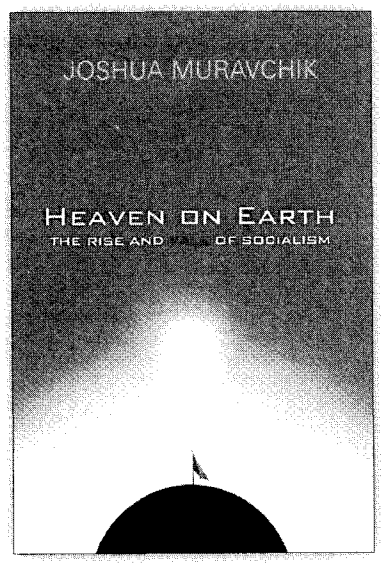
Ibn Saud rode to his mastery of Arabia on the back of the murderous Ikhwan, but fanatics sometimes become inconvenient. When the Ikhwan began attacking British positions in Iraq, the Saudi saw his relationship with his chief foreign sponsor endangered. "Having planted and fostered fanaticism in these simple folk," Lacey writes, "encouraging them to fear no earthly power and to welcome death as the gateway to paradise, [Ibn Saud] could not now argue the futility of charging against Britain's planes and armored cars. Having incited them to suspect and hate every non-Wahhabi as an agent of the devil, he could not now plead the merits of compromise with the infidel British."

Ibn Saud broke with the Ikhwan, at considerable risk to his survival, to maintain his even more important alliance with the British. Today, Crown Prince Abdullah should have to face a similar choice: between Palestinian murderers whom he helps incite and pay for; the jihadist militancy that is represented by al-Qaeda and is an outgrowth of Saudi Wahhabism; the budding Palestinian-Iraqi-Iranian geopolitical axis to which he has seemed increasingly sympathetic—between those things and his relationship with the United States. The decision will be no less painful than Ibn Saud's in the late 1920s, but the U.S. shouldn't be any more willing to accept no for an answer than Ibn Saud's British paymasters were then.

It is too much to ask the Saudi monarchy to reject Wahhabism, a variant of Islam that, as Stephen Schwartz has argued (see his Nov. 19 NR piece, "Liberation, Not Containment"), represents a break from the faith's mainstream traditions. But the U.S. can demand that the regime be minimally responsible in the tradition of Ibn Saud. The Bush Doctrine—"If you harbor, fund, or sponsor a terrorist, you are a terrorist"—has been criticized as "simple-minded" and too "black and white." But there is a method in the simplicity: to try to deny terrorist-friendly regimes the kind of wiggle room that allows them to back the U.S. on the one hand while fostering militancy on the other. It was the starkness of the Bush Doctrine that helped prompt President Musharraf of Pakistan to break (at least for the time being) with Islamic radicalism. Now it should be Abdullah's turn.

As a start, the crown prince should be required to carry out a full and complete investigation of the Saudi connections to Sept. 11. This would be the first step toward the real task: rolling up the radical clerics and the al-Qaeda operatives and supporters who thrive in the kingdom. This would require arresting—and perhaps killing—people, since this wrenching break with Wahhabi radicalism might prompt a low-intensity civil war. Ibn Saud's break with the Ikhwan caused exactly this sort of conflict. Al-Qaeda is a direct descendant of those early-20th-century militants. One of the radical clerics who led the takeover of the Grand Mosque in Mecca in 1979, in a direct challenge to the regime, was the grandson of a leader of the Ikwhan revolt of 1927, and the Grand Mosque rebels

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



HEAVEN ON EARTH

THE RISE AND FALL OF SOCIALISM

Joshua Muravchik

"Joshua Muravchik has written an illuminating history that traces the great and not-so-great individuals who made socialism happen."

–Wall Street Journal

"Muravchik ranges confidently through history of socialism, neatly weaving biography, anecdote, and political commentary into a fascinating chronicle of disappointed idealism."

–The New Criterion

"This is an important work and an object lesson showing great harm is frequently done by those with the purest motives."

–Booklist

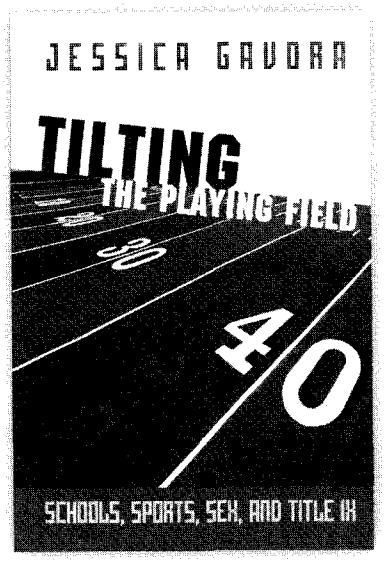
ISBN: 1-893554-45-7, 344 pages, $27.95

In **Heaven on Earth**, Joshua Muravchik tells the story of socialism's rise and fall through portraits of dreamers and doers such as French revolutionary Gracchus Babeuf, whose "Conspiracy of Equals" was the first movement to try to outlaw private property; Robert Owen, who hoped to plant a model socialist utopia in the United States; Friedrich Engels, creator of the cult of Karl Marx and "scientific" socialism; Benito Mussolini, self proclaimed socialist heretic and inventor of Fascism; Clement Attlee, who rejected the fanatics and set out to build socialism democratically in Britain; Julius Nyerere, who merged social democracy and communism in the hope of making Tanzania a model for the developing world; and Mikhail Gorbachev, Deng Xiaoping and Tony Blair, who became socialism's inadvertent undertakers. Filled with character and event, Muravchik's narrative gives us an epic chronicle of a movement that tried to turn the world upside down—and for a time succeeded.

TILTING THE PLAYING FIELD

SCHOOLS, SPORTS, SEX AND TITLE IX

Jessica Gavora



"Provides a useful and thought-provoking look at both sides of a complex and contentious issue."

–Booklist

"This story, which Ms. Gavora tells so persuasively and temperately, is essential reading for anyone who cares about real equity for woman and men in this country."

–Christina Hoff Sommers

ISBN: 1-893554-35-x, 165 pages, $24.95

When it passed Title IX in 1972, Congress seemed to be doing something laudable and also long overdue–prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sex in America's schools. But thirty years later, a law designed to guarantee equal opportunity has become the most explicit, government-enforced quota regime in America, putting boys and men on the losing side of a battle for athletic and educational opportunity. Jessica Gavora shows how Title IX sports quotas have caused chaos at schools like Brown University and led directly to the cancellation of some of the most prestigious men's programs in the country–among them Providence College's baseball team, Princeton's wrestling team, and the men's swimming and diving program that produced several Olympic champions.

But if Title IX has tilted the college playing field, Gavora suggests that its greatest impact on American social life may still lie ahead as the federal bureaucrats, activist judges, and radical feminists who have shaped the statute's interpretation now seek to expand its reach into sexual harassment, student testing, science and math achievement and other areas of education where boys and girls have to conform to their notion of "gender equity."

ENCOUNTER BOOKS
At bookstores everywhere or call 800-786-3839 www.encounterbooks.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

were, in turn, a precursor to al-Qaeda.

Abdullah should be pressured to make an equally sharp turn in foreign policy. The Saudis now operate in frank opposition to the U.S. goal of "dual containment" of Iran and Iraq in the Persian Gulf. The Saudis have hammered out security and oil pacts with their traditional Iranian competitors, and Abdullah literally (at the Arab League summit) kissed and made up with representatives of Saddam Hussein. Meanwhile, the Saudis have joined Iran and Iraq in lavishing money, along with moral support, on Palestinian militants. So the Saudis are fellow-traveling with the Arafat/Hussein/ayatollah axis in the Middle East, while resisting U.S. action against Saddam, which is intended to strengthen the inchoate moderate bloc of Jordan and Turkey with a liberalizing, reformist Iraq.

■

The Saudis are fellow-traveling with the Arafat/Hussein/ayatollah axis in the Middle East.

■

Since a U.S.-sponsored regime in Baghdad would threaten the status quo in the Middle East generally, and in Riyadh in particular (by increasing U.S. leverage and providing an example of decent governance next door), the Saudis will have to be pushed hard to acquiesce in it. All signs from the Crawford summit are that the U.S. is not yet ready to apply such pressure. The U.S.—and especially the State Department and old hands from Bush I, including the former president himself—still apparently buy the Saudis' inflated self-image. The Saudis have long considered themselves a budding world power. In their view, the growth of the jihadist movement around the world was a sign of Saudi vibrancy. The Saudis helped bring down one superpower, the Soviet Union, and held the key to economic health of the other.

Constant pandering from the U.S., intent on maintaining its oil "partnership" with the Saudis, could only fuel this Saudi self-regard. In fact, as the Cato Institute's Jerry Taylor argues, the Saudis maintain their vaunted excess-oil-producing capacity not primarily to cushion the U.S. from volatility in the world market, but to maintain their power over OPEC. (The potential surge of low-cost production is a threat to other OPEC countries, which would be swamped by it.) In any case, the Saudis don't have quite the lock on the world market that they once did, with new production coming online in Russia, West Africa, and (one hopes, after a U.S. invasion) Iraq. Fully 50 percent of American oil imports come from the Western Hemisphere, and the U.S. imports as much oil from West Africa as from the Saudis. But no one is tip-toeing around the president of Nigeria, afraid he might unleash his "oil weapon."

Indeed, by any reasonable standard, the Saudis are hardly an international power at all. As Paul Michael Wihbey of the Institute for Advanced Strategic and Political Studies points out, Saudi Arabia has the national income of the state of Connecticut (no one is tip-toeing around Gov. John Rowland either, for that matter). It has a bankrupt one-sector economy that is carrying almost $200 billion worth of debt. It is utterly incapable of defending itself, despite years of gaudy big-arms purchases from the West (which it can no longer afford). If this isn't the very picture of a regime that the United States can bend to its will, no such regime exists.

Abdullah surely wants nothing more than that the House of Saud survive. If it's clear to him that only by appeasing the United States, and embracing its vision of a changed, liberalized Middle East, will that be possible, he may reluctantly make a turn. The Saudis, after all, have always had a strong streak of pragmatism. Winston Churchill praised Ibn Saud after World War II as a "steadfast, unswerving and unflinching" friend. Not quite. "Ibn Saud kept his options open between 1939 and 1945," Robert Lacey writes, "and it is not difficult to see how Hitler, if he had won the Second World War, would surely have been talking of Ibn Saud in the same glowing terms that Churchill was to employ." Abdullah now is keeping his options open in the finest Saudi tradition, hoping he can help preserve and ride out the status quo in the Middle East. The U.S. must convince him that he has only *one* option—and it's one that the new Ikhwan won't like. **NR**

■ **THE MIDDLE EAST II** ■

'A Tower of Falsehoods'

When a 'massacre' is not a massacre

DAVID PRYCE-JONES

JENIN is an attractive, rather sleepy town set amid the beautiful hills of the West Bank. For some time now, Palestinian extremists have found the refugee camp there a good cover from which to prepare and launch suicide bombers against Israel. Mao Tse-tung said that guerrillas ought to move among the locals as fish swim in the sea. Following that precept, Palestinian terrorists set up shop at Jenin. Established about 50 years ago, the camp has evolved into something like an Arab village of its own, with winding alleys, shops, two- and three-story houses, a busy communal life. I haven't been back for several years, but when I was last there the inhabitants well understood that there might be a price to pay for the extremists in their midst. But what could they do about it? Fatalistically, they shrugged.

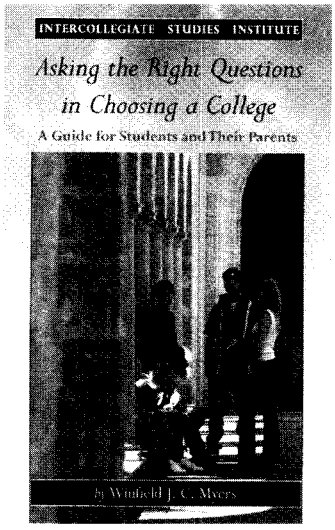
When the Israeli army recently arrived to settle accounts with the terrorists, most of the people naturally fled from the camp to be out of harm's way. Some were unable or unwilling to flee, and a few were held as human shields by Palestinian gunmen. In house-to-house combat, using every tactic fair and foul, Palestinian extremists fought the Israelis until their ammunition ran out, whereupon they surrendered. By that time, about 100 square yards of the camp had been wrecked, and a number of those who had remained there had been killed. How many? Fifty-two so far, of whom 21 were civilians, according to Human Rights Watch. Not more than 100, according to the Israelis. At least 500, according to the Palestinian authorities, who accuse Israel of a war crime, a deliberate massacre.

Willingness to believe the very worst of Israelis is a worldwide phenomenon. They are judged by standards applied to no

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ask the Right Questions...

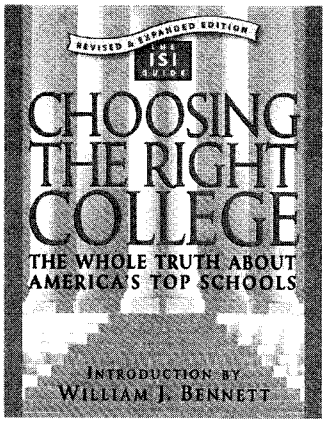
Every summer, students and their parents travel to college campuses across the United States seeking out a place to live and learn. What questions you ask on the campus tour will help determine whether you can make the right choice.


INTERCOLLEGIATE STUDIES INSTITUTE
Asking the Right Questions in Choosing a College
A Guide for Students and Their Parents
by Winfield J. C. Myers

Arm yourself with facts with the Intercollegiate Studies Institute's pamphlet, *Asking the Right Questions in Choosing a College: A Guide for Students and Their Parents*. This guide provides questions to ask and issues to consider on the topics of academic life, student life, and the political atmosphere on campus.

To download your free copy of the *Asking the Right Questions* pamphlet, visit www.isi.org, or email freeguide@isi.org to request a copy by mail.

... Choose the Right College


REVISED & EXPANDED EDITION
ISI
CHOOSING THE RIGHT COLLEGE
THE WHOLE TRUTH ABOUT AMERICA'S TOP SCHOOLS
INTRODUCTION BY WILLIAM J. BENNETT

Once you have made the campus visit, find out what the tour guides and admission officers did not tell you in *Choosing the Right College: The Whole Truth About America's Top Schools*, ISI's college guide that lets you decide which school ranks the best.

"A valuable tool that asks more probing questions, and provides far more significant answers, than the typical college guide."

- Michael Medved, Syndicated Radio Host

"...Tough-minded analysis of the quality of instruction, the level of academic standards, the campus political atmosphere, and the extent to which the liberal arts tradition is respected...."

- William J. Bennett

"If prospective students and their families want a critical look at what is taught at America's most powerful and celebrated schools, [this] may be their only guide."

- World Magazine

"This guide is a must for parents who care more about their kids' integrity than about their credentials."

- Dr. Laura Schlessinger, Syndicated Radio Host

Preview *Choosing the Right College* at www.collegeguide.org, or call (800) 526-7022 to order your copy at ISI's discounted price of $18.00 ($7.00 off retail).

ISI

Intercollegiate Studies Institute

"Educating for Liberty" since 1953

To order *Asking The Right Questions* and *Choosing the Right College*, or for more information about ISI and its educational programs, visit www.isi.org or call (800) 526-7022. ISI is a non-profit, educational 501(c)(3) organization. Donations to ISI are tax-deductible.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

other people. At the news of the battle of Jenin, the international media exploded with outrage against Israel. The United Nations, in the person of Terje Roed-Larsen, a Norwegian, declared that the Israeli action "was totally unacceptable and horrific beyond belief"—the innuendo of massacre is unmistakable. U.N. secretary-general Kofi Annan is setting up an official inquiry. Christopher Patten, a European Union commissioner in Brussels, said that Israel has "trashed" Jenin—again the innuendo is clear. Human-rights organizations repeat the accusations.

Massacre involves rounding up men, women, and children, killing them in cold blood, and disposing of the corpses, in all likelihood in mass graves. In living memory, Europeans of many nationalities—and Africans and others too, come to that—have found themselves willing and able to commit such a crime. Until the recent ethnic cleansings in the Balkans, the victims in Europe were predominantly Jews. And what was done to Jews, these critics and the international media would have us think, Jews now do to others.

In the Six Day War of 1967, I was a correspondent for the *Sunday Telegraph*. Another British newspaper then published a story by Michael Adams, an official of the Council for Anglo-Arab Understanding—a prominent pro-Arab lobby—that the Israeli army had massacred 200 Arabs in Gaza. I was in Gaza at the time but had not observed any violence against civilians. If Adams was right, then I was incompetent in my reporting, and wrong in my estimation of the kind of society that Israel is. So I investigated. The story had begun with Gazans themselves. For days on end, they escorted me helpfully through the crowded streets of Gaza City from one house to another in search of families with a missing relative. There was always one more address to be visited, and one more rumor to be explored, but we found neither victims nor burial place for the simple reason that none existed. The story was untrue.

For several years after that, I returned regularly to Gaza and the West Bank, preparing and writing *The Face of Defeat*, a book about the plight of the Palestinians, and then to cover the 1973 war. On behalf of the Palestinians, but without their consent, Yasser Arafat had made a strategic decision to wage a war of national liberation in conditions where this had not the least chance of success—diplomacy and compromise were the only instruments capable of achieving his goal. His unfortunate people understood that they were certain to become victims twice over, first at the hands of Arafat and his men and then at the hands of the Israelis combating Arafat. They also understood that there was nothing they could do about it.

■

The fabricated truth acquires a vitality of its own more true than the real truth.

■

Those were years when I listened to Palestinians telling me that they were being tortured and killed. I sat in on military tribunals; I interviewed those who claimed to have been tortured, and their lawyers and judges; I visited prisons; I questioned the Israeli security forces. To complicate the issue, there were of course real massacres of Palestinians, but these occurred in Jordan or Lebanon, and they were committed by other Arabs.

The accusations against Israelis were as extravagant as they were unverifiable. I detected a pattern in them—a pattern of untruth—but frustratingly I could not interpret it. Then I found a clue in an unlikely book, the 19th-century memoirs of Isabel Burton, wife of the famous explorer and linguist Richard Burton. She had written that when the Arabs become your enemy, "out of the very stones they will fabricate such a tower of falsehoods that you can only stand and gape in wonder and admiration at their fruitful invention." The stereotype of the Arab as a born liar had been drawn at that time by many experienced English observers, including such men as Sir Henry Layard, excavator of Nineveh, Field Marshal Kitchener, and Lawrence of Arabia. Mrs. Burton was exceptional in having the human sympathy to perceive that the lying was a sign not of innate bad character but of creative self-defense in circumstances of relative weakness.

I suspect—but of course cannot prove—that most Palestinians know in some reserved part of themselves that the Israelis are normal human beings and only doing what they themselves would do if the situation of the two peoples were reversed. But to admit as much is to collapse the idea of achieving national liberation through terror and violence, and so to reveal the bankruptcy of Arafat and all who have taken this path. But what are they to do about it? The question is as unanswerable as ever.

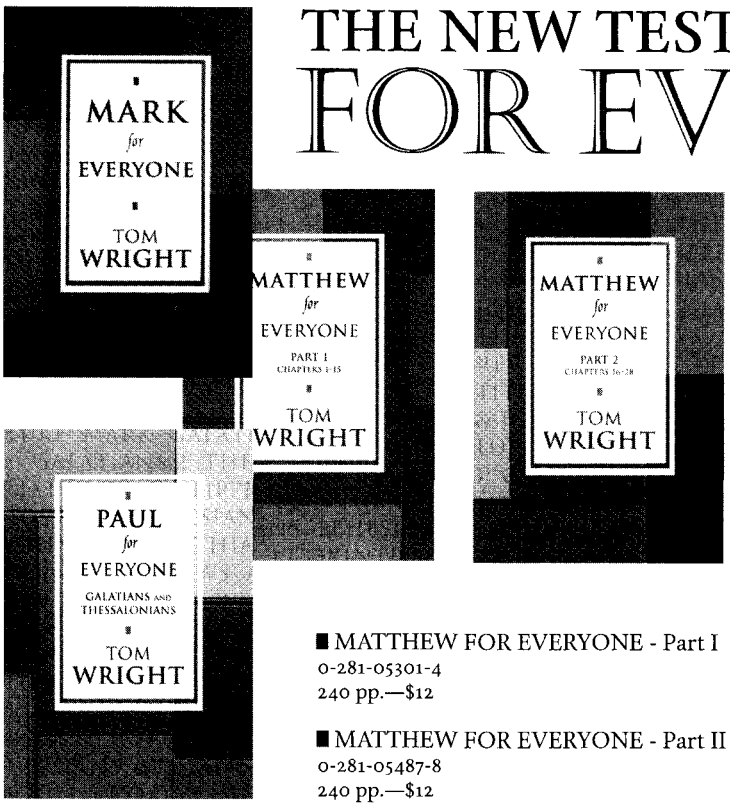
There is a tale often repeated about an Arab who lies down under a palm tree for a nap. Children playing nearby keep waking him up. To get them to leave him in peace, he tells them that in the nearby village they are giving away oranges. Off the children scamper, but once alone the man says to himself, What am I doing here when they're giving oranges away?—and he runs off after the children. For a long time I supposed that Israelis must have invented this dazzling tale as an illustration of the sort of self-deception they were encountering among Arabs. Then I discovered that it comes from *Al-Bukhalaa* (*The Misers*), a classic of immense warmth and insight, written in Basra in the 9th century by al-Jahiz, one of the greatest of Arab writers.

Fables of non-existent massacres derive from the same imaginative source as literature, and they serve the same powerful purposes of reinforcing identity, dramatizing experience, and offering consolation. In my opinion, the Gazans and others who in the past helped me search for alleged massacres had come to believe sincerely—with the unreserved part of their mind, the part they expressed openly—what they were saying, in the same way that al-Jahiz's character came to believe that oranges were being given away in the next village. Arafat and the nationalist cause have been indoctrinating Palestinians that the Israelis are enemies capable of absolute evil, and so they weave stories to establish it, and to vivify and explain their plight to themselves. As conditions worsen, and they are led ever more darkly by Arafat into despair and suicide, the fabricated truth acquires a vitality of its own more true than the real truth—as happens with literature.

How is it possible for the likes of Michael Adams, Christopher Patten, Terje Roed-Larsen, and the luminaries of the international media to take this fabricated truth at face value and to give credit to fictions about Jews as willful killers of the innocent? The answer to that lies in two millennia of European history. **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW TESTAMENT GUIDES FOR EVERYONE



■ MATTHEW FOR EVERYONE - Part I
0-281-05301-4
240 pp.—$12

■ MATTHEW FOR EVERYONE - Part II
0-281-05487-8
240 pp.—$12

■ MARK FOR EVERYONE
0-281-05299-9
272 pp.—$13

■ PAUL FOR EVERYONE: GALATIANS AND THESSALONIANS
0-281-05304-9
192 pp.—$14

An entirely new and approachable translation of the New Testament and study guides by a world renowned scholar, Tom Wright. The series provides invaluable background detail and a wealth of information to help the reader understand each passage in a richer way. The implication of the text for the life of the modern reader is also explored.

The translation of the Bible text is underpinned by deep scholarship, but has an immediacy and freshness which makes it easy to read, and set it apart from other modern-language translations.

The guides assume no detailed knowledge of the New Testament, and are therefore suitable for beginners as well as more experienced students of the Bible.

Each volume stands alone, though the series will build into an unrivaled guide to the entire New Testament, book by book.

Tom Wright has taught New Testament at the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and McGill. He is canon theologian at Westminster Abbey, London.

Published by SPCK
Founded 1698
Patron: Her Majesty the Queen

Distributed in the USA by

THE PILGRIM PRESS
230 Sheldon Road
Berea, Ohio 44017-1254
Phone toll free 800.537.3394,
M-F, 8:30 AM - 4:30 PM (EST)
Fax: 216.736.2206
Or visit our web site: *pilgrimpress.com*

Allow $4 shipping for the first book, 75¢ per book thereafter. Please mention NR 52002 when ordering.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ AT WAR ■

Winning, Truly, in Afghanistan

There is more to do over there

MARIN J. STRMECKI

In late March, President Bush placed a call to Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi of Italy that led to the delay of the departure from Rome of the former king of Afghanistan, Zahir Shah. The king had wanted to return to his war-torn country in the hope of reunifying it—but the U.S. had credible information that there would be an attempt on his life. The most dismaying aspect of this news was that the ringleaders of the plan were members of the Northern Alliance, an Afghan faction closely aligned with the U.S. and propelled into Kabul by the U.S. rout of the Taliban.

This episode illustrates a growing danger: Despite having won militarily in Afghanistan, the U.S. may still lose politically. A complete victory would mean a pro-Western government in Kabul, one that would mop up the remnants of al-Qaeda and cooperate in the larger regional war. But if the U.S. doesn't change its policies soon, radical Islamists could end up in the driver's seat in Afghanistan.

The critical error came last fall, when U.S. officials selected their principal Afghan allies. The Bush administration opted against working with "the Rome group," a faction of Western-oriented Afghans (including the former king) who sought to recreate the country's moderate and secular pre-1978 government. Though it had no forces in the field, the Rome group could have rapidly mobilized sympathetic commanders and fighters, particularly in Taliban strongholds in southern and eastern Afghanistan. The U.S. chose instead to ally itself with the Northern Alliance, a faction supported by Iran and Russia and in control of about 10 percent of the country.

The Northern Alliance was a dubious choice. Two of its principal leaders, Burhanuddin Rabbani and Abdul Rasul Sayyaf, are major figures in the jihadist movement and were close associates of Osama bin Laden in the 1980s. When Rabbani served as president in the early 1990s, his administration granted visas to the foreign elements of al-Qaeda. Also, he and his party, Jamiat-i-Islami, sought to seize dictatorial power, with his secret-police and interior ministries, led by Qasim Fahim and Yunus Qanooni respectively, killing thousands of members of other political groups. Moreover, Rabbani's Tajik-led military forces carried out atrocities against ethnic Pashtuns in many areas, abuses that contributed greatly to the outbreak of the civil war out of which the Taliban emerged.

■

If the U.S. doesn't change its policies soon, radical Islamists could end up in the driver's seat in Afghanistan.

■

Not surprisingly, when Northern Alliance forces rolled into Kabul last fall, its leaders picked up where the Rabbani government had left off. Rabbani himself reoccupied the presidential palace and appointed ministers and governors, all from his Islamist party. More troubling, the Northern Alliance opened the doors to Russian and Iranian advisers and intelligence operatives, who arrived in Kabul on a steady stream of air transports. Fahim, now the defense minister, garrisoned his forces in the capital and staffed the military high command exclusively with his political cronies and former Communist officers selected by his Russian allies.

Though international pressure forced the creation of a coalition government in late December, all of the powerful ministries—defense, interior, and foreign affairs—remained in the hands of the Northern Alliance. Qanooni, again the interior minister, and Fahim proceeded to use their power to harass political opponents, with several senior officials reportedly taking part in the assassination in January of a cabinet minister associated with the Rome group.

The Northern Alliance's winner-take-all approach threatens U.S. interests. First of all, the interim government has not been much help to U.S. forces against al-Qaeda in the south and east, where Pashtuns remember all too well the atrocities of the Rabbani government and seek to hold the new government at arm's length. Second, its Iranian allies have established two Hezbollah-style clandestine networks, Sepah-e-Mohammed and Sepah-e-Sahaba, to wage a campaign of Lebanon-style attacks designed to bog down the U.S. or even force it to withdraw. Third, Northern Alliance leaders have sought to delay or subvert the scheduled June meeting of the national assembly, or loya jirga, which is the key event in the planned transition to a more representative government. Fourth, if the dominance of the Northern Alliance persists, the Pashtuns (40–45 percent of the population) could rise up in a renewed civil war, and offer Pakistan's intelligence service an opportunity to reestablish its pernicious practice of supporting Taliban-style movements in Afghanistan.

The Bush administration must act carefully—but quickly. First, the U.S. must assert itself as the dominant foreign power in Afghanistan until the transition is completed (when elections take place in about two years). Bush has made excellent statements indicating that the U.S. will remain engaged over the long haul. In practical terms, this means that the U.S.—even as it moves on to other theaters—must retain sufficient strike power in the region to cow the Afghan factions. The U.S. also must check the roles of Russia and Iran. Although Bush encouraged Russia's President Putin to bolster the Northern Alliance as it fought to topple the Taliban, he must now explain to Putin

Mr. Strmecki, vice president and director of programs of the Smith Richardson Foundation, has written and lectured widely on Afghanistan since the 1980s.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Big Lie (I)

Are the "occupied territories" really occupied territories?

As Adolf Hitler discovered, the Big Lie will eventually be accepted as the truth. The Big Lie, the monster whopper of our time, is that the provinces of Judea/Samaria, often called the "West Bank" are "occupied territories."

What are the facts?

A Brief History: Most of the area now called the Middle East was part of the Ottoman (Turkish) Empire before World War I. Germany lost the war and so did its ally Turkey. The Ottoman Empire ceased to exist and the League of Nations assigned Britain and France as the mandatory powers.

France assumed mandatory control over what is now Syria and Lebanon. Britain assumed mandatory control over all the rest, including "Palestine," which comprised all that is now Jordan and Israel, including the "West Bank." The Golan Heights, which Syria now claims as its age-old patrimony, was originally part of Palestine.

In 1917, the British issued the Balfour Declaration, under which Palestine was to be a homeland for the Jewish people. In 1921, Winston Churchill, who was then Colonial Secretary of Great Britain, separated all the land east of the Jordan River from the territory designated to be the Jewish homeland, and awarded it to the Hashemites, who established the kingdom of Transjordan.

The Arabs, whipped up by their fanatic clergy, fiercely opposed the presence of the Jews on what they considered "sacred Moslem territory." There was constant warfare between the two groups, which the British tried to arbitrate, always favoring the Arabs, whom they considered more important to their imperial interests.

In 1947, the British decided that they had enough and resigned the Mandate. They left the Arab-Jewish antagonists to their own devices and turned it over to the United Nations. Their solution was to partition Palestine into a Jewish and an Arab state. The area west of the Jordan River (the "West Bank") and the Gaza Strip were allotted to the Arabs. Jerusalem was to be an "international" zone. After much soul searching, the Jews accepted the partition and, in April 1948, declared their independence in the area allotted to them by the partition. The Arabs rejected the partition out of hand. On the very day of Israel's birth, five Arab armies invaded the nascent Jewish State. In what must be considered an almost Biblical miracle, the ragtag Jewish forces decisively defeated the combined Arab might. But Israel had suffered enormous casualties – 6,000 dead, about one per cent of its population.

> "The Big Lie of Israel's 'occupation' has been repeated so long and so often that even people of good faith have come to believe it and to accept it."

Israel not an "occupier": Israel stayed in control of most of the area east of the Jordan River, except for the Gaza Strip, which stayed under Egyptian control. The "West Bank" and the eastern part of Jerusalem stayed under the control of Transjordan, which promptly renamed itself Jordan and proceeded to ruthlessly expel all Jews and to obliterate all vestiges of over 2,000 years of Jewish presence in that land.

In the 1967 Six-Day War, Israel recovered the "West Bank," the eastern part of Jerusalem, the Gaza Strip, conquered Egypt's Sinai Peninsula, and conquered and annexed the Golan Heights. During the 19 years that Jordan and Egypt were in possession of the "West Bank" and the Gaza Strip, it didn't occur to them or to anybody else that the Palestinians should have a state or even that they were a distinct nationality. The claim for that did not arise until after the Six Day War.

Jews have been living in Judea/Samaria since Biblical times. The area was made *judenrein* (free of Jews), following the Nazi model, by Jordan, when it was in possession of the territory. After 1967, Jews moved back into the territory and a great hullabaloo was raised and is still being raised about the not more than 200,000 "settlers," who do not occupy more than 2 per cent of the area. But there is no concern about the hundreds of thousands of Arabs, who, lured by the prosperity of Israel, have flooded into the area, nor of the more than one million Arabs who live in Israel proper and who enjoy full rights of citizenship.

Israel acquired the territories (the "West Bank" and Gaza) in defense of an aggressive war waged against it. No country in history has ever been asked to return such territories. Do the Poles return the huge chunk of Germany that they acquired in the wake of World War II? Do the Czechs return the Sudetenland, do the French return Alsace-Lorraine? Of course not! Only Israel is being asked to return such territories. The last sovereign of the "West Bank" and of Gaza were the Ottomans. The "West Bank" and Gaza are unallocated territories. To speak of Israel as "occupier" is preposterous; to speak of it, as Kofi Annan, the Secretary General of the UN does, as "illegal occupiers," is poisonous slander. He knows better. But unfortunately, the Big Lie of Israel's "occupation" has been repeated so long and so often that even people of good faith have come to believe it and to accept it.

This ad has been published and paid for by

FLAME

Facts and Logic About the Middle East
P.O. Box 590359 ■ San Francisco,CA 94159
Gerardo Joffe, President

FLAME is a tax-exempt, non-profit educational 501(c)(3) organization. Its purpose is the research and publication of the facts regarding developments in the Middle East and exposing false propaganda that might harm the interests of the United States and its allies in that area of the world. Your tax-deductible contributions are welcome. They enable us to pursue these goals and to publish these messages in national newspapers and magazines. We have virtually no overhead. Almost all of our revenue pays for our educational work, for these clarifying messages, and for related direct mail.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that stability can only come from pluralism in an open political process—and that Moscow needs to rein in its client. The U.S. must also insist that the Afghan authorities cut off incoming flights from Iran.

Second, the U.S. must signal a shift away from its excessive reliance on the Northern Alliance. It should emphasize the need to pluralize Afghan politics and to distribute important cabinet seats more broadly: The stacking of ministries with Northern Alliance appointees—often incompetent and in many cases illiterate—must not be allowed to stand. The coalition should further insist that—with the deployment of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Kabul—Northern Alliance troops begin to be redeployed back to their native provinces. At the same time, the U.S. and its allies must try to level the playing field for the loya jirga. Russia and Iran have provided vast amounts of money to the Northern Alliance to buy political support; the U.S. should assist pro-Western parties, just as it did in Europe after World War II.

Third, the U.S. should insist that the loya jirga end the current imbalance of power favoring the Northern Alliance. We should also demand that every new minister be professionally qualified for his position and that no minister have a history of massive human-rights abuses. These criteria would preclude reappointment of Qanooni and Fahim, who were deeply involved in massacres in the early and mid 1990s. This step is essential to opening a new chapter in Afghanistan's troubled recent history.

Fourth, the U.S. should take the lead—but with the smallest possible footprint—in solving the security problem in Afghanistan. The ISAF should not be drawn into policing Afghanistan. If its mission expands geographically, a larger deployment—even one with as many as 20,000 additional troops—would be spread so thinly as to be militarily meaningless. The primary U.S. goal should be, rather, the creation of professional, nonpolitical, and ethnically balanced police and military services. This would require playing an intrusive role in rebuilding Afghan security services, similar to the one the U.S. played in El Salvador in the 1980s. Qualified Afghan personnel are available, at home and abroad, and many were not involved in factional politics during the 1990s. Even before the defeat of the Taliban, members of the Rome group had organized an association of former officers of the Afghan armed forces and police in anticipation of the need to rebuild the government; the U.S. should use these professionals to form core groups in each agency or service who would then recruit and train their subordinates and line officers.

Because of its poverty, Afghanistan should have a military limited to approximately 50,000 troops, though these forces must have sufficient mobility to deploy rapidly anywhere in the country. This limits the scope of the task of rebuilding the armed forces, and the process could readily be completed in two to three years. Only by creating such a professional military force can the U.S. have a local ally sufficiently able to hunt down remaining Taliban and al-Qaeda elements and preclude their return after the U.S. moves on to other theaters.

Fifth, the U.S. must be willing to fund the operations of the Afghan government—and particularly its police and military services—until its capacity to raise revenues has been reestablished. Providing sufficient pay for troops is crucial, because it enables the government to draw the best personnel away from factional armies, such as those of the Northern Alliance, and from regional warlords.

Together, these actions can, over time, secure a political outcome commensurate with the victory won by American arms last fall. But the adjustment in policy is badly needed. If we stay on the present course, the most likely outcome is a Northern Alliance-dominated government—a result that will leave Islamists like Rabbani in power, extend Iranian and Russian influence, and set the stage for renewed civil war when Pakistan eventually reengages in Afghanistan's politics. If the United States wisely recalibrates, it can establish a moderate and pro-Western state in Afghanistan, an outcome that will have a powerful and unmistakable demonstration effect for those who seek positive political change in the members of the Axis of Evil. **NR**

■ THE WHITE HOUSE ■

A Trade President?

George W. Bush has stumbled early; but he has time to recover

RAMESH PONNURU

PRESIDENT BUSH has gotten a lot of grief for imposing taxes on imported steel and for committing other sins against free trade. Conservatives and liberal editorial writers have found a rare accord in trashing Bush for putting politics over principle. Bush deserves much of the criticism. But the critics have not acknowledged the political realities the president must deal with. Bush made his protectionist moves in part, odd as it sounds, to promote free trade in adverse circumstances. If his strategy is flawed, free traders had better come up with a viable alternative.

The administration has not helped itself by resting the case for its policies on assertions that are plainly false. In a recent meeting with journalists, commerce secretary Don Evans argued that Bush had no choice under the law but to impose tariffs on steel. That is not true. The administration chose to ask the International Trade Commission to look into the steel industry. When the ITC recommended steel tariffs, Bush had, by law, unchecked discretion over what to do. He chose to impose even stiffer tariffs than recommended.

Steel was investigated under a law that allows trade relief only for industries that have been seriously injured by increased imports. During the period investigated, however, most categories of steel imports fell. The ITC used some fancy footwork to get around this legal requirement. The commission's maneuvering twisted American law, and—contrary to another assertion by Evans—it violates our obligations as a member of the World Trade Organization.

Evans applied the same the-law-made-us-do-it spin to the administra-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Some people *seem* low key—but they're not

SAVE **50%**
Hardcover, $18.95
YOURS FOR
$9.47

The art of mastering a "high-strung" temperament, and finding strength, self-control and peace of soul

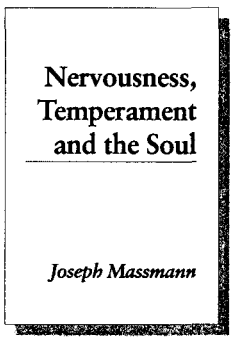
The basis for the science of self-control was, as St. Thomas best explained it, the concept of temperament—the Catholic discovery that *every personality is dominated by one of three basic emotional tendencies*. Modern psychiatry has lost sight of these more immediate, and much more powerful influences on our mental and moral faculties. Which is why Fr. Joseph Massmann's guide to knowing and mastering a common kind of difficult temperament came as such a welcome surprise when first published in the 1940s. Now it's back in print.

Fr. Massmann explains how those with a certain temperament can conquer vices and bad habits...strengthen resolve...and triumph over such surprisingly common emotional afflictions as:

Nervousness • Depression • Fearfulness
Hypersensitivity • Shyness • Irritability • Anger
Stubbornness • Defensiveness • Resentment
Involuntary thoughts and compulsions • Phobias
Scrupulousness • Excessive Worrying

LET'S REMEMBER...

- 3 types of temperament, one of which is dominant in *every* personality. Tell-tale signs of each
- Mixed personality types and their characteristics
- Positive potentialities of each temperament. Negative potentialities if untrained
- The chief hindrance to self-mastery
- No one would willingly possess this temperament, yet it is the most richly endowed of all
- When two people of similar temperaments are in love
- Two factors that determine if a temperament can be reformed
- The importance of grace in a balanced temperament
- Why teaching sacrifice is *the* most important task of education
- Pseudo-piety that can harden one in errors



- 8 points to keep in mind in the struggle against despondency
- How to tell when the will has consented to illicit pleasure
- This emotional imbalance is often mistaken for a virtue
- Can an inherited emotional tendency ever be cured?
- Repose in God: the source of true emotional peace. How to find it in prayer and contemplation, according to great saints
- The worst effect of anger. Three rules for curing it
- Best/worst kinds of spiritual books for certain temperaments
- Exercises to control thoughts and emotions
- "Ten Commandments for Nervous People," explained in a chapter, sum up the book's practical wisdom, and provide a recipe to heal sick souls and strengthen weak ones

Celebrate 2000!

Pope John Paul's prescription for peace of mind encapsulated in this softcover, designed for daily reading. We have the last copies in print — it's yours for $3.59 (publisher's price was $9.95), when you buy *Nervousness, Temperament and the Soul.*

Save 64%
Retail: $9.95
You pay: $3.59

~ booksforcatholics.com ~

Roman Catholic Books • P.O. Box 2286 • Fort Collins, CO 80522-2286 NTS2

TITLE	QTY.	SALE PRICE	TOTAL
Nervousness, Temperament and the Soul		$9.47	$
Celebrate 2000!		$3.59	$
Postage and handling—$2 for first book; $1 each additional			$
		TOTAL	$

Name_____ Address_____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____ All orders must be prepaid.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion's recent decision to impose tariffs on Canadian softwood lumber. These tariffs are meant to offset Canadian subsidies. Whether those subsidies exist was for Evans's Commerce Department to determine. The department found that the subsidies did exist. Its evidence: Canadian lumber is cheaper than American lumber. That's an obvious non sequitur, and WTO rules forbid that method of determining whether another country has subsidies that justify countervailing tariffs.

The flimsiness of the administration's public case does not mean there is no argument for the tariffs. There are two. First, that Bush promised relief to the steel industry during the 2000 campaign, won a tight election in part because of it, and had to deliver. Second, that the steel and lumber tariffs were the price of getting congressmen from steel-producing areas to vote for a more important free-trade bill.

The president wants Congress to pass a bill authorizing him to negotiate trade deals. Under the bill, any deal his men negotiate will have to survive an up-or-down vote by Congress. But no amendments will be possible. The no-amendment provision is thought to be key to successful negotiations, since other countries won't want to strike deals that can be picked apart in Congress.

Bush has had a very difficult time getting the trade-promotion bill through Congress. Democrats oppose it. So Bush, working the House, had to round up every Republican he could get. Some of those congressmen would not support his bill—could not, given their districts, support it politically—unless he promised them some protectionism on steel, lumber, or textiles. So Bush made concessions in each area. He even pledged not to reduce tariffs on textile imports from Pakistan, even though its government desperately wanted something to show for its alliance with us in the war on terrorism. Even with these concessions, the bill barely passed the House, and it has yet to pass the Senate.

Bush's tariffs, in short, are a consequence of the collapse in support for free trade among Democrats. Democrats would protest that characterization, saying that they favor free-trade agreements so long as there are safeguards to make sure those agreements don't undermine environmental standards or labor laws. If only Republicans compromised on these issues, they claim, they would happily vote for trade promotion.

But the administration *did* compromise. The trade-promotion bill included language encouraging negotiators to reach agreements that protected labor and the environment. By contrast, the version of the bill that President Clinton submitted in 1997 had no such conditions. Yet more than 40 House Democrats were willing to support trade promotion then, according to estimates made at the time. Only 21 Democrats backed trade promotion for Bush. The vast majority of Democrats voted against the bill because the unions have become increasingly adamant in their rejection of trade and increasingly powerful within the party. A secondary motive was the desire to hand a defeat to Bush and to Bill Thomas, the chairman of the relevant House committee and a thorn in the side of Democrats.

■

Bush's tariffs are a consequence of the collapse in support for free trade among Democrats.

■

In any case, being for trade agreements with protections for labor and the environment is more a theoretical possibility than a real-world one. Poor countries are opposed to the inclusion of labor and environmental regulations in trade agreements, seeing them as Western attempts to reduce their competitiveness. The Democrats' position is to favor free trade only under conditions that will not be met.

It's going to be hard enough to reach trade deals with other countries as it stands. Bush's protectionist payoffs may have made it more likely that he will get trade-promotion authority, but they have made it less likely that he will be able to do anything with it. The biggest holdout to Bush's envisioned "Free Trade Area of the Americas" has been Brazil. Now that we've hit that country with steel tariffs, it isn't going to be more forthcoming.

Steel also heightened another obstacle to successful trade talks: So far, the U.S. isn't putting anything on the table that other countries want. Our trading partners want us to offer liberalized trade in steel; we raised tariffs. They want us to rein in our textile protectionism; Bush has promised congressmen who represent these interests that he'll look out for them. Many countries would like to see a reform of America's anti-dumping laws, which they (correctly) believe are often abused to keep out imports; we're not discussing the issue.

For many years, America led the global charge for free trade. No longer. Brink Lindsey, a trade-policy analyst at the Cato Institute and the author of *Against the Dead Hand*, a recent book on globalization, notes that we have abandoned our historic role at an especially unfortunate moment. Until the 1980s, most poor countries were enthralled by the dream of central planning and did not respond to American liberalization. In the '80s and '90s, these countries realized that opening their economies was an imperative—again, regardless of American policy. But now, the momentum has gone out of free-market reform. Liberalization is perceived to have produced disappointing results in many countries (especially those that did not couple it with institutional reforms to promote the rule of law and secure property rights).

American lectures on why liberalization is still worth doing will be taken less seriously now that we have imposed tariffs on steel and lumber. "U.S. credibility on trade, internationally, is hovering near zero," says Lindsey. "Many people are eager to find excuses not to move forward."

Too many of them are in Washington. As it stands, President Bush's record on trade (at least in his first term) is likely to be significantly worse than President Clinton's. Early in his first term, Clinton stumbled on trade. He indulged in saber-rattling with Japan, and went back and forth about trade with China. But Clinton was able to amass a strong record overall. He benefited—not for the last time—from good timing: The Reagan and Bush administrations had done much of the preliminary work to create a North American free-trade area and to reach a global free-trade

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

deal. Clinton pushed those bills through Congress. Bush has had the early trade stumbles, but there are no free-trade deals in the pipeline to redeem them.

Sen. Phil Gramm, as stalwart a defender of free trade as can be found on Capitol Hill, holds out hope that such deals will nonetheless be struck. "If [Bush] can use use trade-promotion authority to have another [global] trade-expansion effort," he says, "I think he would have a very good record. But as of now, the only things he's done are damage-control things related to steel and lumber. . . . I don't have any doubt where the president is in his heart on this issue. I want to get trade-promotion authority to give the president a chance to get positive entries on the ledger."

If that fails, there is one other possibility for trade liberalization on the horizon. History records several instances where free trade has come to a country at the point of a gun. President Bush might, in his first term, open Iraq to global markets. That would be a powerful blow for free trade (among other things). And it would not have to wait on congressional Democrats. **NR**

■ **THE LAW** ■

Without Their Daughters

The outrage of child abduction and U.S. complacency

KATE O'BEIRNE

OVER the past six and a half years, Tom Sylvester has come to regret that he rejected his older brother's advice. On October 30, 1995, Sylvester's wife abducted their baby daughter Carina to Austria. "My brother Paul told me to 'go get her,'" Sylvester explains. Instead, Sylvester put his trust in international law, and within hours of the abduction filed an application under the Hague Convention. Today, despite an order from Austria's highest court that Carina be reunited with her father in the U.S., Sylvester's only child remains in Austria—where her father is only able to visit her at the whim of his former wife.

The Hague Convention obliges signatory countries to ensure that children in dispute are returned to the country of their "habitual residence" for a custody determination. But in practice, this international treaty cruelly punishes American parents and rewards foreign abductors. The U.S. returns virtually all children to their foreign habitual residence so quickly that their little heads spin, but American children are returned to the U.S. in *fewer than 20 percent* of the thousand cases a year reported to the State Department.

In the 1991 movie *Not Without My Daughter*, Hollywood told the dramatic story of Betty Mahmoody's flight with her child from an abusive husband in Iran. Since then, Americans have come to appreciate the hopeless situation that American mothers face when Middle Eastern fathers abduct children to countries where Islamic law enshrines the father's rights as absolute. While Mahmoody got her daughter back, hundreds of American children remain trapped in the Middle East. Pat Roush's two daughters have been condemned to what she calls the "medieval madness" of Saudi

Black Listed Cancer Treatment Could Save Your Life

Baltimore, MD— As unbelievable as it seems the key to stopping many cancers has been around for over 30 years.

In 1966, the senior oncologist at St. Vincent's Hospital in New York rocked the medical world when he developed a serum that **"shrank cancer tumors in 45 minutes!"** 90 minutes later they were gone... Headlines hit every major paper around the world. Scientists and researchers applauded. Time and again this life saving treatment worked miracles.

Decades ago, European research scientist Dr. Johanna Budwig, a six-time Nobel Award nominee, discovered a totally natural formula that not only protects against the development of cancer, but people all over the world who have been diagnosed with incurable cancer and sent home to die have actually benefited from her research—and now lead normal lives.

After 30 years of study, Dr. Budwig discovered that the blood of seriously ill cancer patients was deficient in certain substances and nutrients. Yet, healthy blood always contained these ingredients. It was the lack of these nutrients that allowed cancer cells to grow wild and out of control.

By simply eating a combination of two natural and delicious foods (found on page 134) not only can cancer be prevented—but in case after case it was actually healed! "Symptoms of cancer, liver dysfunction, and diabetes were completely alleviated." Remarkably, what Dr. Budwig discovered was a totally natural way for eradicating cancer.

What's more, the world is full of expert minds like Dr. Budwig who have pursued cancer remedies and come up with remarkable natural formulas and diets that work for hundreds and thousands of patients. *How to Fight Cancer and Win* author William Fischer has studied these methods and revealed their secrets for you—so that you or someone you love may be spared the horrors of conventional cancer treatments.

They walked away from traditional cancer treatments... and were healed! Throughout the pages of *How to Fight Cancer and Win* you'll meet real people who were diagnosed with cancer—suffered through harsh conventional treatments—turned their backs on so called modern medicine—only to be miraculously healed by natural means! Here is just a sampling of what others have to say about the book.

"I bought *How to Fight Cancer and Win* and this has to be the greatest book I've ever read. I have had astounding results from the easy to understand knowledge found in this book. My whole life has improved drastically and I have done so much for many others. The information goes far beyond the health thinking of today." *—Hugh M.*

"I can't find adequate words to describe my appreciation of your work in providing *How to Fight Cancer and Win*.

My doctor found two tumors on my prostate with a high P.S.A. He scheduled a time to surgically remove the prostate, but I canceled the appointment. Instead I went on the diet discussed in the book combined with another supplement. Over the months my P.S.A. has lowered until the last reading was 1.2." *—Duncan M.*

"In my 55 years as a Country Family Physician, I have never read a more 'down to earth,' practical resume of cancer prevention and treatments, than in this book. It needs to be studied worldwide for the prevention of cancer by all researchers who are looking for a cure." *—Edward S.,MD*

Claim your book today and learn all the details about this safe, natural cancer-fighting option.

To get your copy of *How to Fight Cancer and Win* visit our website at www.agorahealthbooks.com/nrev5 or call **1-888-821-3609 and ask for code 9111** to order by credit card. Or write "Fight Cancer—Dept. P680C50C" on a plain piece of paper with your name, address, phone number (in case we have a question about your order) and mail it with a check for $19.95 plus $4.00 shipping to:

Agora Health Books
Dept. P680C50C
P.O. Box 977
Frederick, MD 21705-9838

If you are not completely satisfied, return the book within one year for a complete and total refund—no questions asked. This will probably be the most important information you and your loved ones receive—so order today!

©2002 Agora Health Books, LLC

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Arabia since their father abducted them from the suburbs of Chicago 16 years ago. Tom Sylvester knows what he would have done in that case: Because Saudi Arabia, like all other Islamic countries, is not a party to the Hague Convention, he would have taken his brother's advice.

"I was deceived," Sylvester explains. "I trusted in the idea that Austria was a civilized country that would live up to its obligations." From the moment he realized that his Austrian wife had taken a credit-card cash advance of $5,000 and charged two plane tickets to Europe, Sylvester did everything "right" under the Hague Convention. Austria, along with about 50 other countries, *is* a party to the convention. But Austria, like most European countries, has no effective enforcement mechanism for this kind of infraction—so the abducting parent is perfectly free to ignore custody, visitation, and access orders. Two years ago, the U.S. Congress unanimously passed a resolution estimating that over 10,000 American children were being wrongfully kept in foreign countries—and fingering Austria, Germany, and Sweden as among those who "consistently violate" the convention.

Within four months of Carina's abduction, Sylvester had won a "valid and final" order from the Austrian supreme court mandating the child's return to the U.S. Accompanied by local police and court officials, Sylvester went to his former wife's home in Graz to enforce the return order—only to be told by the ex-wife that Carina was "in the mountains" with her grandmother. And that was that. "I spent over $200,000 for a worthless piece of paper," Sylvester says. "I didn't want a court order, I wanted my daughter."

A year later, following the ex-wife's petition to "reopen" the Hague Convention case—on the grounds that the child had by then been in Austria for some time—a trial court formally decided that the return order wouldn't be enforced. In congressional testimony, Sylvester railed against the circular nightmare he was caught in: "The child was not returned because the order was not enforced, now the order will not be enforced because the child was not returned."

Sylvester points out that within a year of Carina's abduction, four children were returned to Austria under U.S. court orders. In accordance with our obligations under the Hague Convention, the federal government contracts with the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children (NCMEC) to help foreign parents locate and win the return of their children. But while U.S. taxpayers foot the bill to help foreign parents, American parents are largely on their own when a European parent snatches their children. And the State Department itself is an obstacle. In testimony before the House International Relations Committee, one American father criticized the "dereliction of duty" and "incompetence, inexperience, and mismanagement" on the part of government officials charged with assisting American parents. He told the committee that when he pressed his case, State Department legal adviser Catherine Brown baldly told him: "I don't work for the American people, I work for the secretary of state."

■

American parents are largely on their own when a European parent snatches their children.

■

And this particular father's opinion might fairly be viewed as that of an expert. Tom Johnson is a Harvard-educated State Department human-rights lawyer whose daughter Amanda, a U.S. citizen and resident from her birth in 1987, has been wrongly retained by his Swedish diplomat ex-wife since 1995. Under a mutual agreement following their divorce, custody had been shared between Amanda's father in Virginia and her Swedish mother. Johnson sought relief under the Hague Convention. Four Swedish courts either ordered his daughter's return, or held that Sweden had no jurisdiction. The Hague process lasted 17 months, instead of the six-week time frame mandated by the convention. After endless delays and litigation in eight separate proceedings in six courts—a process that cost Johnson, too, over $200,000—a final Swedish court reversed all previous rulings and refused to return the child. The Swedish government paid all the abductor's legal expenses; Johnson believes the drawn-out litigation was a bad-faith effort on the part of Sweden to exhaust the financial resources of the American parent.

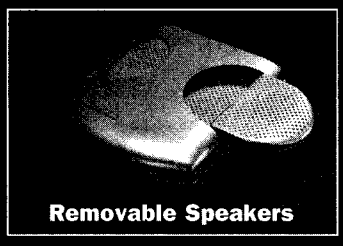
Since 1995, Amanda's father has seen her on only a handful of occasions for supervised visits—always subject to the whim of the mother, because his visitation and access rights are unenforceable under Sweden's civil-justice system. Johnson points out that these Hague Convention cases are not merely the "private child-custody disputes" that the State Department prefers to label them: They are treaty violations in which the legal and social-welfare agencies of foreign governments are actively aiding and abetting the commission of federal and state felonies against American parents and their children.

In his testimony, Johnson explained that the State Department has a hopeless conflict of interest: The diplomats have determined that embarrassing violations of the Hague Convention must not be allowed to interfere with bilateral relationships with non-compliant countries. He believes, therefore, that responsibility for resolving these cases should rest elsewhere. He proposes that the NCMEC take over the job of assisting American parents, by keeping case files and reporting to Congress on both foreign-government and State and Justice Department conduct. If state-court judges were informed of the Europeans' inability to enforce the rights of non-custodial parents, they might reconsider their policy of automatically returning children to Europe: They would be on notice that they were effectively severing the American parent's relationship with the child. The Hague Convention provides a narrow exception that precludes returning a child if there is a "grave risk of harm" to the child; being denied the involvement of a committed parent should certainly fit the definition of "grave risk," and thus prevent the child's return until the other country was able to enforce visitation and access orders.

The U.S. should take other steps as well. We should prevent foreign citizens in countries that don't comply with their treaty obligations from enjoying the convention's protections, while American parents are unable to enforce their own rights. The federal government should stop negotiating child-support agreements with countries that are in violation of the convention, and should refuse to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WORLD'S FIRST!



ego 4000

The World's only CD/MP3 Player with removable speakers!

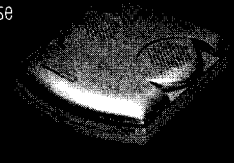
Removable Speaker... the DualPurpose "MegaRange" Speaker System with "BigBass" Boost, allows you to remove the two speakers from the lid and plug in both separately, splitting the powerful sound... only available on much larger systems... "ego" is Totally Unique.

MP3 Compatible... No wonder it boasts... take me anywhere... play me anywhere. It is 20% smaller than the smallest CD player in its class and it features an ultra "slimline" design which has the only removable speakers. Imagine setting it up just like a Big System, you can fully take advantage of the Impressive overall sound by positioning the speakers just the way you want them.

The Stereo Sound is "Positively Exquisite" - room-filling stereo to provide rich and full-bodied sound for your personal enjoyment. The "ego" CD player features the most advanced skip protection for really smooth play and uninterrupted sound whether you are travelling on an airplane, in a car, in a boat or anywhere you may get jolted.

The "Get-Up" Alarm function allows you to wake-up to your own collection of CD Music or FM Radio or if you wish a simple Buzzer... to get you up and on your way.

FM Radio Clock features precise 12-hour Time Mode... with "snooze" and radio sleep timer allowing you to catch those extra 40 winks without being late.



etón®

TO ORDER, CALL US TOLL-FREE: 1-800-793-6542 Ext. NR02

24 hours a day, 7 days a week. We accept Visa, MasterCard, American Express, Discover, Check or Money Order. The etón ego CD 4000 is only $149.95 (plus $10 shipping and handling and tax, if applicable*), payable in five monthly credit card installments of $32.83 To order by mail, send credit card number and expiration date or check or money order for $159.95, plus tax, if applicable*, to:

etón Direct, 3520 Haven Ave., Unit L, Redwood City, CA 94063

*CA orders add 8.25% sales tax (billed with shipment). Payment in USS. AK, HI, PR & International orders (including Canada) please fax 1-650-361-1724 for shipping and handling. All duties and taxes for international orders are the responsibilities of recipients. Please allow 3-4 weeks for shipment. If paying by check/money order, please include: name, address, daytime phone number, product, quantity and Ext. code from this ad (e.g. NR02). We can not ship to a P.O. Box. Visit our website: www.grundigradio.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

extradite Americans accused of abduction to countries that refuse to extradite their own citizens for the same offense. In its annual Human Rights Report, the State Department might express the same concern for the rights of American parents and children that it does for Scientologists in Germany.

In March 2001, secretary of state Colin Powell told the House International Relations Committee that he was familiar with the Sylvester case, and called all such abduction cases "terrible tragedies." But no action followed. Unlike the executive branch, members of Congress have responded to the pleas for help from their desperate constituents. On behalf of Tom Sylvester, Sen. Mike DeWine and Rep. Steve Chabot, both Ohio Republicans, have repeatedly criticized the State Department's inaction.

Sylvester used to be an automobile executive, but no longer works owing to his full-time preoccupation with trying to establish a relationship with his daughter. Because Carina doesn't speak English, he takes German lessons in order to be able to talk with her in monthly phone conversations. Although not under court order to do so, Sylvester has—since 1999—been sending $1,000 a month to Austria, out of a sense of responsibility toward his daughter and in the hope of bribing his former wife to allow him to visit her. He plans to travel to Austria soon to try to see Carina for a few hours. He understands that there is plenty on the secretary of state's plate at the moment, but remains frustrated that over the years nothing has elevated the issue of abducted children to the level of a top concern for the State Department. "Other countries—like Austria, Sweden, and Germany—are willing to forsake good international relations for the sake of their citizens, while the United States is willing to forsake its citizens for the sake of good international relations," he concludes.

Next time European governments assume their morally superior posture to lecture America about some alleged failure on our part to behave like a good international citizen, bear in mind that we are guilty of a shameful dereliction: abandoning American parents and children when their fundamental rights are violated by European hypocrites. **NR**

■ **FRANCE** ■

The Ugly Frenchman

Looking at Le Pen and deciding what you see

JOHN O'SULLIVAN

JEAN-MARIE LE PEN's emergence as the sole challenger to President Jacques Chirac in the second round of France's presidential election has proved to be a Rorschach test for political journalists. The famous Rorschach ink blot was just a random blob of ink—but when people were asked to say what they saw in it, they revealed the most embarrassing contents of their subconscious minds.

Le Pen's success was likewise of modest significance. He defeated the socialist, Prime Minister Lionel Jospin, by less than one percentage point when a crowded field of candidates had splintered the Left vote. He had increased his own vote by only 2 percent over his 1995 showing. And opinion polls suggest he will add only a few more percentage points in the runoff on May 5.

After looking into this small blob of ink, however, journalists devoted oceans of the stuff to explicating its deeper meanings. First reactions conformed closely to the Rorschach syndrome. There were outraged howls that the radical Right (a.k.a. neo-Nazis) were again on the march and threatening civilization. Susannah Herbert, in the London *Sunday Telegraph*, wrote for many when she lamented how hard it now was to be a friend of France: French anti-Semitism, dormant since Vichy, was on the march and its standard-bearer was Le Pen. For many journalists, of course, this was a comforting theory rather than a threatening one—because it confirmed their general worldview that racism, sexism, homophobia, and fascism are the main dangers to civilization. And these, of course, come exclusively out of the Right.

Inspired by this scenario, *The Economist* devoted a special section to the new parties of the European Right. But the article was honest (and factual) enough to admit that, whatever the sins of Le Pen personally, there was little sign of a fascist resurgence across the continent—and also that it was false and libelous to call people like Gianfranco Fini of Italy's National Alliance or Denmark's Pia Kjaersgaard either fascist or anti-Semitic. They are nationalists, whose definition of the national community is based on culture and law rather than on blood. Dealing with the fact that some of today's nationalist parties have roots in the fascist movements of the past, *The Economist* observed: "Right-wingers note that various of today's Communist parties, including the French and Italian ones, once worshipped Stalin but none is considered a pariah today." That is, of course, a welcome understatement. Many actual Communist apparatchiks, who personally served in totalitarian regimes, hold office today in Europe; and these "post-Communists" promptly seek to bar "post-fascists" from power on democratic grounds.

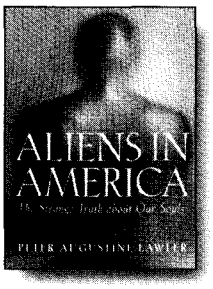
If the picture of a fascist revival is false when applied to Europe as a whole, it is scarcely less so as a depiction of modern French politics. As Christopher Caldwell demonstrated in a superb report from Paris for *The Weekly Standard*, anti-Semitism *is* on the march in France—but it is marching from the Left. Indeed, many of the same people who march against Le Pen, such as the anti-globalization leader José Bové, are also active in the movements of the anti-Semitic Left. This "new" French anti-Semitism draws on two sources: the "beurs," who are the French-born children of North African immigrants; and anti-American, anti-globalization left-wing intellectuals who have embraced the Palestinian cause in the Middle East and the defense of the beurs in domestic politics. The torching of synagogues and attacks on Jews have been downplayed, by both the Left and the French authorities, because they have been committed by Muslims. If they had been carried out by Le Pen supporters, it would have been an occasion for national soul-searching.

Le Pen himself, whether cynically or because "the enemy of my enemy is my friend," presents himself as a strong supporter of Israel's right to defend itself

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ISI Books spring 2002

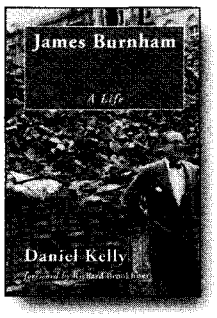
ALIENS IN AMERICA
The Strange Truth about Our Souls
PETER AUGUSTINE LAWLER
$24.95 (cloth) 1-882926-71-4 / 350 pages (June)



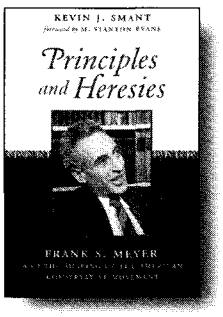
Cloning, gene therapy, psychoactive drugs, and other examples of science run amok threaten to destroy our humanity. Lawler explains the cultural conditions that make this scientific despotism possible. Our defense lies in admitting that we are destined to be "aliens" in this world by our very nature.

JAMES BURNHAM AND THE STRUGGLE FOR THE WORLD *A Life*
DANIEL KELLY / *Foreword by* RICHARD BROOKHISER
$29.95 (cloth) 1-882926-76-5 / 475 pages (May)

Burnham was one of the most influential anticommunist figures of the Cold War era. He first started, however, on the revolutionary Left with friend Sidney Hook, becoming a dedicated Trotskyite and a prominent radical intellectual. Includes fascinating vignettes of Orwell, Koestler, Malraux, Pound, and others.

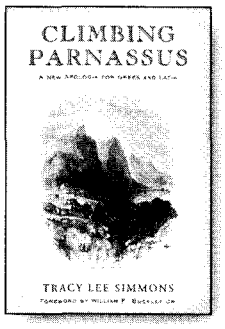


PRINCIPLES AND HERESIES
Frank S. Meyer and the Shaping of the American Conservative Movement
KEVIN J. SMANT / *Foreword by* M. STANTON EVANS
$29.95 (cloth) 1-882926-72-2 / 425 pages (May)



"No one gave more of himself to the conservative movement, and very few had more to give, than Frank Meyer—Communist turned Republican, rigorous theorist and passionate literary man, astute organizer and sensitive mentor. His story deserves telling, and Kevin Smant has done it full justice." —**Sam Tanenhaus**, author, *Whittaker Chambers: A Biography*

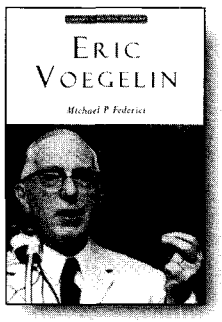
CLIMBING PARNASSUS
A New Apologia for Greek and Latin
TRACY LEE SIMMONS
Foreword by WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.
$24.95 (cloth) 1-882926-73-0 / 285 pages



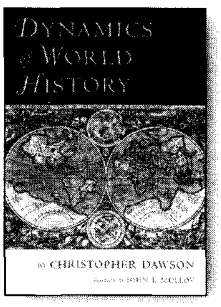
Simmons advocates a return to education in the classical languages. "A book that makes one feel more intelligent for having read it."—***Booklist*** "Simmons makes a compelling case with interesting and untraditional arguments often unknown even by classicists." —**Victor Davis Hanson**, author, *The Other Greeks*

ERIC VOEGELIN
The Restoration of Order
MICHAEL P. FEDERICI
$24.95 (cloth) 1-882926-74-9 / 250 pages (June)
$14.95 (paper) 1-882926-75-7 / 250 pages (June)

The author synthesizes Voegelin's massive corpus of work to show how his conception of "the crisis of the West" spurred him to propose a profoundly original historical understanding of the problem of order and to articulate a sophisticated critique of modern gnosticism and scientism.



DYNAMICS OF WORLD HISTORY
CHRISTOPHER DAWSON / *Edited by* JOHN J. MULLOY
with a new Introduction by DERMOT QUINN
$29.95 (cloth) 1-882926-78-1 / 560 pages
$16.95 (paper) 1-882926-79-x / 560 pages



In scope and in vision Dawson's conception of history ranks with the work of men like Spengler, Northrop, and Toynbee. This classic Dawson work is a conspectus of his thought on universal history in all its depth and range. "*Dynamics of World History* is extraordinarily valuable, ...the richness and the quality of Dawson's historical thinking will catch the eye of its readers at first sight." —**John Lukacs** "This book, arguably the finest and most definitive summary of Dawson's thought, is recommended without the slightest reservation...."—***Touchstone***

ISI BOOKS **PERENNIAL IDEAS SHAPING OUR AGE**

AVAILABLE AT FINE BOOKSTORES. *To order, call (800) 621-2736; fax (800) 621-8476. Save 15% at* www.isibooks.org.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

against terrorism and as a defender of French Jews against racist attacks. Evidence that he may be a Holocaust denier (or at least minimizer) is drawn from his earlier career: He has been twice fined by the French courts—for a total of $250,000—for describing the gas chambers as a "detail" of the Second World War. He now refuses even to answer questions on the subject; accordingly, two interviews—in the London *Spectator* and the Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz*—painted a more complicated and, at times, sympathetic picture of the former paratrooper. But these subtleties got lost in the initial press coverage, which treated Le Pen simply as a racist, anti-Semite, and xenophobe and skirted delicately around the question of who exactly was burning down synagogues.

Such jeremiads were quickly succeeded, however, by calmer analyses, which agreed that the large number of votes gained by Le Pen and other "protest" candidates showed how remote and unpopular the political establishment in France (and Europe generally) had become. This double-headed establishment of Left and Right had cohabited very comfortably on the basis of a shared orthodoxy of high taxes, a large welfare state, high levels of state economic intervention, high levels of immigration, and the transfer of power from nation-states to Brussels. Democracy had been reduced to a choice between two almost identical packages of Euro-socialism. Issues of great importance to the voters, in particular crime and immigration, were either ignored or treated with disdain; and this had finally provoked the voters into rebellion.

Surprisingly, this analysis united commentators of both Left and Right. But as soon as solutions were proposed, the partisan Rorschach syndrome came bounding back. Both the *Washington Post* and *The Economist*, for instance, are strong supporters of high levels of immigration. They accordingly thought that the response of the new French president to Le Pen should be to persuade the French to be more welcoming to immigrants. If that were to be his sole response, of course, it would be yet another example of treating the opinions of the voters with disdain: The great majority of French voters think immigration should be sharply reduced. In addition, this proposal begs the question, since there are two interpretations of what "welcoming" means. Most French people interpret it as assimilation to French culture, whereas some immigrant spokesmen—especially those claiming to speak for the beurs—believe that it should require the multicultural acceptance of Islamic culture within French society. These are very different approaches. A policy of encouraging assimilation while reducing the number of immigrants annually (to, in effect, assimilable levels) would be the best hope of calming down French society and halting the rise of the new anti-Semitism of the Left. But it seems obvious that if the next French government were to combine high levels of immigration with multiculturalism, a more respectable version of Le Pen might emerge from the following election with an actual plurality of votes.

That will not, of course, seem obvious to everyone. For the most dramatic case of Rorschach's Twitch was an editorial in the *Wall Street Journal*. This argued a very different interpretation of the French election, namely, that across Europe the euro has compelled the election of center-right governments by preventing the center-left from inflating its way to reelection; that a reelected President Chirac will implement free-market reforms after his victory; and

The *enfant terrible* by Roman Genn

that, finally, the theory that the vote for Le Pen is evidence that French voters are worried about immigration or globalization will only be believed by "blood and soil Tories" and "their U.S. imports at NATIONAL REVIEW." (It may be paranoia, but I think that's me.)

On one point the *Journal* is correct: The euro has prevented *all* governments from pursuing an independent monetary policy. As a result, governments of all political complexions have regularly lost elections because unemployment is permanently in double digits. At present, it is the turn of the French Right to replace the Left—even though, under the benign sway of the euro and Lionel Jospin, French unemployment has fallen to a mere 9 percent. But the likelihood is that the next French government will fall in its turn, unless the monetary policy of the European Central Bank coincides fortunately with the French election cycle.

And it's doubtful that a President Chirac would push through free-market reforms: He has been in and out of power for 20 years without evincing the slightest interest in market economics. Indeed, his last conservative government fired Alain Madelin for flirting with such notions—and Madelin, the only free-market candidate this year, got a mere 4 percent of the votes. Nor is this accidental; the French political establishment is firmly *dirigiste*. Le Pen so far has been the beneficiary not simply of the establishment's disdain for the voters over immigration and crime, but also of its dogged pursuit of a deflationary monetary policy that has kept unemployment extremely high.

No one had reconciled these two ideas—pulling in immigrants and simultaneously deflating the economy—into an overarching grand theory until the *Wall Street Journal* did so in its editorial. Perhaps, however, we need not be surprised. A few years ago, Milton Friedman was asked by *Forbes* how the *Wall Street Journal* could favor fixed exchange rates. He replied: "You got me! My God, how the hell can they stick with that? They've got an idée fixe about it. Like they've got on immigration. It's just obvious that you can't have free immigration and a welfare state."

Those two idées fixes were, like ships, bound eventually to crash in the night. **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ COVER STORY ■

Living in Sin

Fantasy and reality in today's Las Vegas

JONAH GOLDBERG

Las Vegas

"ARE you going to write me a check?" the buxom headliner at the Luxor hotel's "Midnight Fantasy" asks me. "No," I mumble as I put away my pen, a bit distracted because she's wearing cowboy chaps that offer a view of her largely theoretical underwear. I'm taking notes during her show and I guess when a Vegas showgirl sees a pen, she assumes it's to write her a check. She asks my name and repeats it for the whole audience. Then she instructs me: "Move your leg, honey." I comply and uncross my legs which, like my arms, had been constricted in a pretzel of uncomfortable body language: I hate shows, I hate audience participation, I hate *this*. She sits in my lap and sings to me and I ponder how I can kill myself without drawing any further attention.

When she's done, she sashays back to the stage, turns coquettishly toward me—so as to ensure that her exposed derriere, shining in the spotlight, "faces" me through her chaps—and asks, "Would you like to see some *more* cowgirls, Jonah?" She doesn't wait for my answer and a parade of showgirls returns to the stage to lip-sync another spate of '80s hits, like Billy Idol's "Flesh for Fantasy."

Now, when it comes to topless women, one need not be an "if you've seen two, you've seen 'em all" kind of guy to find this show relentlessly boring. Despite the playbill's promise—"See every dreaming or waking fantasy you've ever had come to life"—ten minutes in and I'm sucking the last dregs of scotch off the ice cubes in my glass like it was an antidote to a neurotoxin.

But not everyone feels that way. Shortly after the cowgirl gets off my lap, I catch the eye of one envious older gentleman. Grinning, he gives me a thumbs-up, but holds it low by his hip so his wife doesn't see it. In fact, the audience is full of married couples; the stand-up comic who comes out halfway through the show takes one look at the crowd and says, "Look at all the married couples, this could be a cruise."

He's right. Indeed, a large number of folks in the audience look like they might receive a lot of solicitation mail from AARP. It's impossible to know exactly how many of them came here after loading up on the early-bird senior-citizen special at Denny's, but few seem to have caught on to the irony that this is the 8:30 P.M. showing of "Midnight Fantasy." In fact, there is no midnight showing of "Midnight Fantasy," but apparently "Dinner Hour Fantasy" didn't have the right oomph.

SIN IS IN

This, apparently, is the future of Vegas. "Sin City," as countless headline writers have noted, "is back." Up and down the Strip, the skyline is dominated by huge, multistory video billboards featuring images of what would have passed for soft porn a generation ago. In my hotel, the MGM Grand, every elevator features a large sign for their nude revue, "La Femme." Small children, old ladies, junior-high-school soccer teams: Everyone sees the same butt—with just enough frilly thong to keep it legal—right over the floor-indicator.

It's a carnival of female flesh, year-round. Over 1,000 naked women perform in public on any given evening. Harrah's offers "Skintight," starring Vanna Lace—whose election as "Miss Nude World" was not, presumably, a reward for reading to the blind. A nightclub called "Skin" is scheduled to open in May; it will feature women shaking their groove thing on platforms while mermaids swim nude in a giant fish tank.

Las Vegas is making a conscious effort to shed the "family-friendly" reputation it earned in the last decade, and don the more risqué rep of yesteryear. The Old Vegas was not a place you wanted to take your kids to—the Dunes hotel offered topless dancing in the 1950s. But that all started to change when Steve Wynn opened the Mirage in 1989. Wynn, who should be given as much credit for creating the "new" Vegas as Bugsy Siegel got for creating the old one, all but declared that he wanted to steal tourists from traditional bring-the-whole-family venues. Declaring the Mirage a "Disney/fantasy experience," Wynn put a shark tank behind the check-in desk and set up a day-care center for hotel guests. "Neon is cheap," he told *USA Today*. "It's yesterday's Las Vegas."

Vegas quickly became an entertainment mecca for family travelers. In 1991 Kirk Kerkorian broke ground on a billion-dollar project: a 5,000-room hotel with an amusement park roughly the size of Vatican City and an adjoining sports arena bigger than Madison Square Garden. In short order, New York New York, The Luxor, the Venetian, and a host of other theme hotels went up, almost as quickly as the old ones with cigarette-stained drapes and otherwise-stained mattresses came down.

Wynn's bet paid off. By 1994, *Time* magazine's cover called Las Vegas an "All-American City." *U.S. News & World Report* featured a similar cover: "Sin City No More." In 1998, Wynn opened the Bellagio, a $1.6 billion luxury hotel complete with a mini-museum with roughly $300 million worth of paintings by

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Degas, van Gogh, Picasso, and Matisse. You could still find the world's largest rhinestone at the Liberace Museum if you wanted, but clearly this was an appeal to a different clientele.

The concept of the New Vegas was shockingly simple: Every place you went to was supposed to remind you of someplace else. Caesars Palace, of course, is Classical Rome. The Luxor is a giant Pyramid on the outside and Ancient Egypt on the inside. Treasure Island is self-explanatory. The Venetian boasts actual gondola rides on man-made canals; New York New York looks like the iconic Gotham skyline on the outside and has a cavern of faux–New York ethnic eateries on the inside; the Paris showcases a nightly performance at which the entire beret-wearing staff surrenders *en masse* to busloads of German tourists every hour on the half-hour.

■

Las Vegas became in the 1990s a classic American enterprise. And now, true to its role, it's changing again.

■

Okay, just kidding about that last part, but you get the point. Las Vegas had no culture of its own—at least none worth advertising—so it ripped off—er, borrowed—other people's. It was Epcot Center with gambling and more cleavage.

In all its brilliance and shamelessness, Las Vegas really did become in the 1990s a classic American enterprise. In *The Money and the Power: The Making of Las Vegas and Its Hold on America*, Sally Denton and Roger Morris write that Las Vegas "is a city in the middle of nowhere that is the world's most popular destination. It is a fount of enormous wealth that produces nothing. Once thought the society's aberrant city, it is not just newly respectable but proves to have been an archetype all along."

And now, true to its role as the malleable metropolis of American hedonism, Las Vegas is changing again. The success of Steve Wynn's Vegas was predicated on getting the most customers with the most money to spend to come to Vegas. This meant expanding the city's appeal to families with children. The idea wasn't, Wynn insisted, to become "family-friendly" so much as to be friendly to people who wouldn't come to Vegas unless their family could come too.

Alan Feldman is the vice president of MGM-Mirage Casinos, and worked with Wynn when he opened the Mirage. He says that most of the razzle-dazzle—the erupting volcanoes and so on—was never intended to entertain children, so much as make adults "feel like kids again." After all, he notes defensively, "the explosions at the pirate battle scare little kids." And Kerkorian's massive Wizard of Oz-themed amusement park? "That is now seen as a decision of great error." He's certainly right on that score. The place is closed to everything but tumbleweeds.

FAUX NAUGHTINESS

As countless casino executives have noted in industry journals, whether it was a family-friendly or friendly-to-families policy, it worked. Vegas's customer base grew from 18 million a year in 1989 to over 35 million today, with these visitors spending more and staying longer.

So why abandon the policy? The media were quick to report that the nudie girls started coming out after September 11, which had, in fact, delivered a terrible blow to the city's business. But Feldman and other Vegas hands dismiss this theory, noting that these highly produced shows were in the works long before the terrorist attacks.

There are actually at least three interrelated reasons why sin is making such a comeback at the big casinos (it never left the more modest establishments). The first is a national trend. Gambling is now everywhere in the United States: Thirty-eight out of 50 states allow it. It was thought, at first, that this trend would cut into Vegas's profits, but that hasn't been the case. "It's like golf," a pit-boss explains to me. "If you really develop a love for the game at your local course, you don't become *less* interested in playing the great courses. You want to go to Augusta. It becomes your dream." In other words, Vegas is the home of the Masters of gambling, but it's open to the public year-round.

The flip side of this trend is that gamblers who do go to Vegas don't want to see rug-rats everywhere. Customers were telling the casinos that they didn't like seeing crying babies in strollers going by the tables. The spread of gambling around the country has, for better or for worse, made Americans more serious about wagering. And, let's face it, everybody turns into W. C. Fields at the blackjack table: "Get away from me, kid, you're bothering me."

A second reason so many women are taking off their clothes inside the casinos is that there are so many women taking off their clothes *outside* the casinos. Almost simultaneously with the explosion of gambling around the country, strip clubs have become a major business in the U.S. In Las Vegas, these joints have been shaving millions—more likely hundreds of millions, though nobody knows for sure—from the casinos' coffers. "These guys leave the table at midnight to go get their lapdances—and whatever else they can get, if you know what I mean," explains a blackjack dealer. "Oh, sure, I'm taking horny guys from the casinos to Club Paradise or the Palomino all the time," a cabbie says. "You want me to take you there?"

When casinos hope to feed, house, clothe, and entertain their guests for the duration of their stay, an exodus of high-dollar patrons is a big deal. So, with this loss to their bottom lines in mind, the casinos have added lines of bottoms to their entertainment roster.

The last reason for the makeover is the simplest: Vegas decided to stop apologizing for what it is. The day-care centers, amusement parks, and Imax theaters are all great and they're here to stay. But let's face it: Vegas is about booze, sex, and gambling. Take away these things and you have a lot of hotel rooms in the desert. With the spread of gambling and generalized raunchiness around the country, the casinos concluded they could move away from the Disney-style wholesome goodness without losing any family travelers, or even generating much controversy.

But the funny thing is that the new Vegas "sleaze" is just as fake, or rather just as "corporate," as the goody-goody Vegas was. The make-believe sarcophagi at the Luxor or the medieval jousting at the Excalibur wasn't real, and neither is most of the "smut" at the big casinos. Oh, sure, they're real boobies (okay, not *completely* real), but the idea is to create an ambiance in which generally upright Americans can feel a bit naughty. After

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

all, almost 60 percent of Vegas visitors are women. Just as the van Goghs at the Bellagio offered a fig leaf of sophistication for vacationers a little embarrassed to be going to Las Vegas—the equivalent of offering articles between the pictures of *Playboy*—the new burlesque prunes that fig leaf back a little bit, without getting rid of it. Now that Vegas is acceptable, it can afford to be a little more saucy. But, in the end, it's still smut as kitsch.

The Shadow Bar at Caesars Palace may be the most hyped of the new sin-city attractions. Officially called "Shadow: A Bar at Caesars Palace"—no doubt because colons make names saucy—the gimmick centers on several dancers who prance and gyrate behind a translucent screen that allows the patrons at the bar to see only their silhouettes. Most of the dancers are women, but there are also some men, who look especially silly.

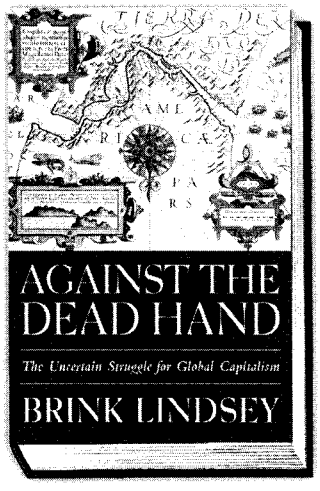
Various travel writers have noted that the Shadow Bar "epitomizes" the new "sin is in" culture of Las Vegas. But when I was there, the crowd seemed virtually indistinguishable from the sort of folks you see at a "Cheers" bar at the airport. Indeed, just as the "Cheers" franchise lamely tries to capture the feel of the bar and TV show it's named after, the Shadow Bar seems to be going for an homage to the *Our Man Flint* movies of the 1960s.

Big-casino Vegas isn't sleazy so much as it is a Sleaze Land theme park. The really dirty strip clubs aren't scared of the competition from shows like "Midnight Fantasy," which, the Luxor insists, is "classy and tasteful." On any smut-o-meter, such shows are like the kiddie-car rides at Disney World; everyone knows that the more exciting "big-kid" go-karts can be found elsewhere in Orlando. As a co-owner of the Spearmint Rhino, a popular strip club, explained to *USA Today*: "It's the difference between watching the Playboy Channel and having the Playboy girl come over and rub you down."

Indeed, if the crowd at "Midnight Fantasy" is any indication, the Playboy Channel version is saucy enough for now. As I left the theater—as quickly as I could—I ran into a nice elderly couple. The gentleman said with a broad grin, "Boy, you lucked out in there!" Before I could say anything in response, his wife said, "Don't embarrass him. He probably doesn't want anyone to know he's here."

You could say that again. **NR**

"Informed, lively, and challenging…



Cloth • 0-471-44277-1 • $29.95 US/$46.50 CAN

CATO INSTITUTE

…Brink Lindsey's book illuminates the tough road ahead in the fight for free markets and against the dead hand of the past. I have benefited greatly from reading this book and so can everyone who cares about freedom."

–George P. Shultz
former U.S. Secretary of State

Provocative and contrarian, *Against the Dead Hand* offers a portrait of the current struggle for global capitalism in the face of outdated twentieth-century political and social concepts. From Soviet Communism to European democratic socialism, to modern protectionism, Brink Lindsey reveals the extent to which the "dead hand" of the old collectivist dream still challenges a free market world economy.

At bookstores, or call 1-800-767-1241 or visit www.cato.org

It makes radio sound "simply amazing." Imagine what it can do for your CDs.

The acclaimed Bose® Wave® radio/CD. When the Bose Wave® radio was introduced it woke up an entire industry, delivering breakthrough sound the critics at *Radio World* called "simply amazing." How could we top that? The answer: combine the Wave® radio's revolutionary acoustic waveguide speaker technology with a CD player, all while adding only ¼ inch to the radio's size. The result is a countertop marvel that brings out the full clarity and richness of your CDs, and you can still tune in great radio. Buy direct from Bose, the most respected name in sound. Our installment plan lets you make **12 low interest-free monthly payments.*** Order before June 30, 2002 and receive a free Bose CD carrying case that holds 24 CDs. Your satisfaction with the Wave® radio/CD is guaranteed. In fact, we believe once you hear the simply amazing sound, parting with it will seem unimaginable.

Call 1-800-836-6754, ext. T9018.
For information on all our products: **www.bose.com/t9018**

BOSE®
Better sound through research®

©2002 Bose Corporation. Patent rights issued and/or pending. The Wave® radio design is also a registered trademark of Bose Corporation.
*Installment payment plan and free CD case offer not to be combined with any other offer or applied to previous purchases.
Payment plan available on credit card orders only and subject to change without notice. Quote: Frank Beacham, *Radio World*, 12/8/93.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

There He Goes Again

Jimmy Carter, our 'model ex-president'

JAY NORDLINGER

If there's one thing everyone "knows" about Jimmy Carter, it's that he's been an excellent ex-president—a "model ex-president," everyone says. But some of us have to wonder, sometimes.

Carter has resurfaced in recent weeks, sounding off on the Middle East and preparing for a trip to Castro's Cuba. The 39th president is never far from the surface, of course. He has often been an irritant to his successors in the White House. He exasperated Clinton on North Korea and Haiti, and he appalled the first Bush. In the run-up to the Gulf War, as the administration was trying to assemble a coalition against Iraq, Carter sent a letter to members of the U.N. Security Council, urging them to thwart the administration's effort. Some around Washington were heard to mutter "treason."

Whatever the weather, Carter has enjoyed a reputation as a Middle East sage, owing to his role in the 1979 Camp David accords. Yet that reputation rests on shaky ground. The painful truth is, Sadat and Begin had their deal worked out before ever approaching Washington. Prof. Bernard Lewis, dean of Middle East scholars, put it this way to PBS's Charlie Rose recently: "The popular mythology is that Sadat made this enormously courageous and imaginative gesture of offering peace. . . . [Sadat and Begin] then went to the United States to discuss it further, and thanks to the wise statesmanship of Jimmy Carter and his staff, they were able to bring [their work] to a successful conclusion, to a peace treaty." Why, in fact, did the two principals ring the White House? "Well, obviously," explained Lewis, "they needed someone to pay the bill, and who but the United States could fulfill that function?"

By Ismael Roldan

Still, Carter is immensely proud of his rendezvous with Middle East history, and he trades on it constantly. No one should assume, however, that he's an honest broker—at least anymore. For the past many years, he has been passionately anti-Israel, more or less embracing the PLO line. He has repeatedly been at the service of Yasser Arafat. After the Gulf War, the PLO chief was on the outs with Saudi Arabia, because he had backed Saddam Hussein. So he asked Carter to fly to Riyadh to smooth things over and restore Saudi funding to him—which he did. Arabs are also robust funders of the Carter Center, the ex-president's redoubt and vehicle in Atlanta.

While Carter has many warm words for Arafat and for dictators around the world (as we will see shortly), he has nothing but contempt and scorn for the democratic leader in Israel, Ariel Sharon. In Carter's eyes, the Arab–Israeli conflict is not unlike the pre-civil-rights South, with the Israelis as the oppressive whites and the Palestinians as the innocent blacks. As he told his chronicler, Douglas Brinkley, "The intifada exposed the injustice Palestinians suffered, just like Bull Connor's mad dogs in Birmingham."

JIMMY & YASSER

Last month, Carter penned a remarkable op-ed piece for the *New York Times*, entitled "America Can Persuade Israel to Make a Just Peace." In it, he let it all hang out as an apologist for Arafat and a bulldog against Sharon. Before getting to that piece, however, we should be clear about just how attached to Arafat and his cause the ex-president is. As Brinkley writes in his book *The Unfinished Presidency*—about Carter's celebrated post-White House years—"there was no world leader Jimmy Carter was more eager to know than Yasir Arafat." The former president "felt certain affinities with the Palestinian: a tendency toward hyperactivity and a workaholic disposition. . . ."

In their first meeting—held in 1990—Carter boasted of his sternness toward Israel. For example, he said, "When I bring up the [PLO] charter, you should not be concerned that I am biased. I am much more harsh with the Israelis." Arafat, for his part, complained about the Reagan administration's alleged "betrayals." Rosalynn Carter, who was taking notes for her husband, interjected, "You don't have to convince us!" which, as Brinkley records, "elicited gales of laughter all round." The ex-president "agreed that the Reagan administration was not renowned as promise keepers" (this, to Arafat).

Later on, the parties exchanged gifts. "When Arafat presented Rosalynn with a dress for daughter Amy, decorated with Palestinian embroidery, he mentioned that he had followed Amy's political activities with great interest, especially her anti-CIA stance in Nicaragua and antiapartheid activities in South Africa." Then,

> . . . in the course of conversation, Rosalynn began describing her revulsion and dismay over a story about Israeli troops dumping garbage in front of a Palestinian orphanage during the Carters' trip to the West Bank. Innocent Palestinian children were being treated as trash. As she recalled the inexcusable humiliation of their treatment, her eyes filled with tears. And the men, too, began to sob. Carter grasped the hands of his companions, and the three briefly prayed together. Then they dried their tears, embraced, and said farewell.

Shortly thereafter, Carter actually acted as PR adviser and speechwriter to Arafat. As Brinkley says, he "drafted on his home computer the strategy and wording for a generic speech Arafat was to deliver soon for Western ears . . ." The entire composition is nauseating, but its flavor can be captured in a single line: "Our people, who face Israeli bullets, have no weapons: only a few stones remaining when our homes are destroyed by Israeli bulldozers."

If Carter wrote Arafat's Western-ears-only speeches, Arafat

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

could have written much of Carter's recent *New York Times* op-ed. The former president began by describing Arafat's 1996 "election" as a "democratic" one, "well organized, open and fair." (It was "well organized," all right.) Of course, this "election" was like any other in the Arab world, which is to say, rigged from beginning to end. As former CIA director James Woolsey told journalist Joel Mowbray recently, "Arafat was essentially 'elected' the same way Stalin was, but not nearly as democratically as Hitler, who at least had actual opponents." Arafat's "opponent" was a prop.

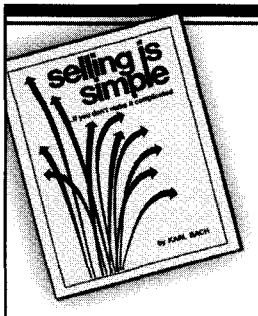
Carter then lit into his bogeyman, Sharon, declaring him an international outlaw whose "goals" are to "establish Israeli settlements as widely as possible throughout occupied territories and to deny Palestinians a cohesive political existence." Sharon has, in fact, accepted the concept and inevitability of a Palestinian state—but he unpleasantly insists on his own country's existence and security as well.

The ex-president conceded that "there is adequate blame on the other side"—meaning the Palestinian—but only insofar as Arafat has failed to "exert control over Hamas and other radical Palestinians" (forgetting the many "suicide bombings" carried out by Arafat's own Al-Aqsa brigades). Carter then wrote—in an excruciating sentence—"[Arafat] may well see the suicide attacks as one of the few ways to retaliate against his tormentors, to dramatize the suffering of his people, or as a means for him, vicariously, to be a martyr." This comes as close to an apology for terror as a president—ex- or current—ever gets.

The Carter mindset on the Middle East is perhaps best illustrated by the reaction of his key aide and emissary, Mary King, to the invasion and rape of Kuwait by Iraq's Hussein in 1990. She cabled her boss, "Saddam learned from the Israelis that might makes right . . ."

JOE HUMAN RIGHTS

Another thing that everyone "knows" about Jimmy Carter is that he was a "human-rights president," and has ever since been a "human-rights crusader": He himself says so, regularly. And yet, he has a very peculiar view of human rights—one both peculiar and familiar.



The most important book about salesmanship ever written ...

Selling is Simple...

by Karl Bach only $19.95*

**But read this ad for an even better deal!*

Karl Bach was a penniless and uneducated German-Jewish immigrant. He spoke very little English and, to top it off, he had a physical impediment. Not being able to get any other job, he enlisted as a Fuller Brush salesman. Within two months, he became the most productive salesman Fuller had ever had. From a standing start, he had developed irresistible sales techniques. He applied those methods and insights to the life insurance business. Within three years, he became one of the most successful life insurance producers in the US. He founded and became principal owner of the San Francisco Life Insurance Company, which eventually merged with the Philadelphia Life Insurance Company. He became a very, very wealthy man. In this book, Karl reveals his enormously successful salesmanship methods.

If you are in any area of selling, you should be able to at least quadruple your performance by reading this groundbreaking book and following its precepts. There is no reason why you shouldn't be as successful as Karl Bach -- you have so much more going for yourself than he did. We are the publishers of this book and can offer it for only **$19.95**. ***But we have an even better deal:** ***Buy two books for $39.90 and we will send you a third one, with our compliments -- absolutely*** **FREE!** If you are in any area of sales and want to multiply your performance and your income, you owe it to yourself to buy this book. You and your family will be glad you did. Order it today!

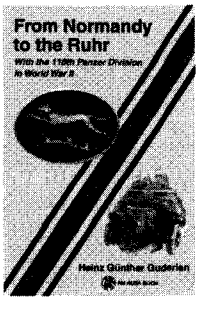
Order directly from the publisher by toll-free phone (800) 600-2777, by fax (415) 356-7804, or by mail. Mention order code 1094Y290 and give Visa/MC # and expiration date, or send check for $19.95. Add $4.95 shipping/insurance, plus sales tax for CA delivery. 30 days refund/return, except for shipping/insurance.

advance books
division of jomira/advance
470 Third St., #211, San Francisco, CA 94107

Order by toll-free phone: (800) 600-2777 or (fastest!) by fax: (415) 356-7804
Visit our website at www.haverhills.com

SETTING THE HIGHEST STANDARDS . . . IN *HISTORY*

From Normandy to the Ruhr: With the 116th Panzer Division in World War II
by Heinz Günther Guderian



"A well-crafted and deeply-researched scholarly narration and a multi-tiered memoir—immaculately translated (a task often overlooked and underrated)—into a definitive history."
—*Military Heritage,* April 2002

One of the "Top Ten WWII books of 2001"
—Reader Survey, Stone and Stone Military Books Website

See the book's website at: *www.116thpanzer.net* Case $39.95 plus $4.50 U.S. shipping

Into the Mountains Dark: A WWII Odyssey from Harvard Crimson to Infantry Blue
by Franklin Gurley

"A deceptively absorbing account . . . told with warmth, humor, style, wit, and above all, honesty."
–*Military Trader,* August 2001

Paper $19.95 plus $4.00 U.S. shipping

www.aegis-consulting.com/aberjona.html

THE ABERJONA PRESS
An imprint of Aegis Consulting Group, Inc.
P.O. Box 629, Bedford, PA 15522
E-mail: aegis@bedford.net

Order Toll Free
866-265-9063

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In the old days—although not so much anymore—we would hear, "Sure, the West has 'political rights': freedom of speech, freedom of worship, and so on. But the East has 'social rights': the right to food, the right to shelter, the right to health." A mission statement of the Carter Center says, "'Human rights' is a broad term, encompassing freedom from oppression and freedom of speech to the right to food and health." This is inching toward Erich Honecker territory. As Jeane Kirkpatrick—another Carter bogeyman—points out, it's odd how those with "political rights" also tend to have plenty of food, plenty of shelter, and plenty of health; it's further odd how those denied "political rights" also tend to do without material comfort.

In 1997, Carter wrote an op-ed piece entitled "It's Wrong to Demonize China." In it, he said, "Westerners emphasize personal freedoms, while a stable government and a unified nation are paramount to the Chinese. This means that policies are shaped by fear of chaos from unrestrained dissidents or fear of China's fragmentation. . . ." He also suggested that freedom of religion had come to China—causing activists in the field, who know the horrid truth, to gnash their teeth.

■

It says something not very flattering about Carter that Castro has been so eager to have him.

■

Many longtime Carter-watchers don't have much hope that he will perform admirably in Cuba. He is to visit there from May 12 to May 17. Indeed, it says something not very flattering about Carter that Castro has been so eager to have him: The dictator must reason that he has little to fear from the presence of the ex-president.

Care for a quick walk down Memory Lane? Joshua Muravchik reminded us of some Carter nuggets in a 1994 piece for *The New Republic*. While in office, Carter hailed Tito as "a man who believes in human rights." He said of Ceausescu and himself, "Our goals are the same: to have a just system of economics and politics . . . We believe in enhancing human rights." Since leaving office, Carter has praised Syria's late Assad (killer of at least 20,000 in Hama) and the Ethiopian tyrant Mengistu (killer of many more than that). In Haiti, he told the dictator Cédras that he was "ashamed of what my country has done to your country."

While in North Korea, Carter lauded Kim Il Sung, one of the most complete and destructive dictators in history. Said Carter, "I find him to be vigorous, intelligent, . . . and in charge of the decisions about this country" (well, he *was* absolute ruler). He said, "I don't see that they [the North Koreans] are an outlaw nation." Pyongyang, he observed, was a "bustling city," where shoppers "pack the department stores," reminding him of the "Wal-Mart in Americus, Georgia."

Then there's his notorious friendship with Daniel Ortega, former strongman in Nicaragua. In 1984, when the Reagan administration was trying to put maximum pressure on Ortega to submit to democracy, Carter urged Habitat for Humanity to build in Nicaragua. A fine idea, perhaps, but here's the (classic) Carter twist: "We want the folks down there to know that some American Christians love them and that we don't all hate them." In 1990, of course, Carter traveled to Managua to monitor the elections and to certify what he figured—and hoped, it seemed—would be a Sandinista victory. When the democratic opposition won instead, Carter was memorably churlish, even bitter. As Kirkpatrick says, "You'd have thought a democrat would be happy."

A SINKING FEELING

Small wonder that Free Cuba activists are nervous. Carter has vowed to "share ideas on how to improve the relationship between the United States and Cuba." The worry is, he is more interested in perfuming and legitimizing the dictator than in pushing for human rights and democratic elections. Cuba's people are hardly in need of more Fidel smooching and more indifference to their plight.

The ex-president has a tremendous, almost mouth-watering opportunity to do good—to stand for freedom and to speak the bold truth, as Reagan, for example, did in the Soviet Union. Carter has been briefed both by Cuba-democracy groups and by the State Department. He knows the names and locations of political prisoners. Cuba activists also hope that he will say something about the Varela Project, which is a petition drive—allowable under Castro's "constitution"—to force a referendum on whether the government should continue (after 43 undemocratic years). This was the means by which Chileans got rid of Pinochet in the late 1980s. The Varela people have more than the required number of signatures, but the Castro regime, of course, is harassing those who signed and failing to heed its own law. A word from Carter might unblock things, and electrify the nation.

But if Carter does no more than take the "standard Fidel tour" (as the activists put it), gratify his ego, and denounce U.S. policy, with the dictator applauding behind him, he will have flopped. If he endorses and spreads Castroite lies about the miracle of socialist health care and education, he will have done worse. Cuba-watchers are also interested in whether Carter and his party will stay in segregated hotels. Unknown to many outside Cuba, that island has a system of "tourism apartheid" whereby *yanquis* and other foreigners are put up in hotels and at resorts from which ordinary Cubans are forbidden. Castro could easily see to it that Carter encounters only loyalists to the regime; he will have to go out of his way to see, and hear, anybody else.

If Jimmy Carter is, according to image, Joe Human Rights, he couldn't have picked a better country in which to prove it. The Bush administration has given him a green light, skeptical but hoping for the best. The ex-president certainly doesn't think much of the current president. He has bashed him at every turn. Most infamously, Carter denounced Bush's identification of an "axis of evil" as "overly simplistic and counterproductive." (Not infrequently does the ex-president sound like the French foreign minister.) He added, "I think it will take years before we can repair the damage done by that statement."

Post-Carter presidents know a thing or two about repairing damage done: in Iran, Nicaragua, and other places (including, a mouthy Republican might argue, the United States). The question is, How much more damage will he do, our "model ex-president"? **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Unknown Slavery

In the Muslim world, that is—and it's not over

JOHN J. MILLER

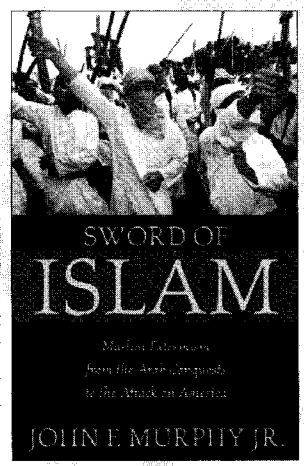
WHEN Henry Morton Stanley explored the Congo River's Boyoma Falls, the cascades weren't the only thing he noticed: "Every three or four miles we came in view of the black traces of the destroyers. The scarred stakes, poles of once populous settlements, scorched banana groves, and prostrate palms, all betokened ruthless ruin."

The perpetrators of this wreckage were slavers. As late as 1883—when Stanley wrote—they were scouring the African countryside for people they could seize and haul into bondage. Their gruesome search destroyed whole villages, leaving once-prosperous areas devoid of inhabitants. Their forced marches to the coast were ghastly, with the exposed bones of captives who died along the way so numerous they practically served as trail markers. Those who survived the ordeal—fewer than half, by some estimates—were exported to the world's final repository of slavery: the Islamic world.

The phenomenon of Muslim slavery is not often studied, and especially not the Muslim enslavement of black Africans. "A list of serious scholarly monographs on [Islamic] slavery—in law, in doctrine, or in practice—could be printed on a single page," wrote Princeton's Bernard Lewis in his pioneering but brief book *Race and Slavery in the Middle East* (1990). He went on to suggest that the subject is so "highly sensitive" that it would be "professionally hazardous" for young scholars to take it up. Indeed, among the thousands of professors and graduate students affiliated with Middle Eastern studies programs in the U.S., only a handful have dared to broach the controversial topic, and a comprehensive history and analysis of it remains to be written.

This stands in stark contrast to the huge amount of scholarship on slavery in the West. Judging by the sheer volume of material, one might come away with the mistaken impression that nowhere was the vile institution of slavery more entrenched than among the American hypocrites who declared that all men are created equal. And yet throughout Muslim history, starting with Mohammed himself, slavery was a vigorous and central part of Islamic civilization. This is not to say Islamic slavery was *worse* than American slavery; in many ways, life was easier under Muslim owners than under Mississippi owners. The problem, rather, is that the Islamic world has not experienced the same kind of moral reckoning on slavery that the West has.

Islamic Studies from Prometheus Books



SWORD OF ISLAM
Muslim Extremism from the Arab Conquests to the Attack on America
John F. Murphy Jr.
This revealing account of global Islamic terrorism traces the intricate interconnections among various terrorist cells, including Osama Bin Laden's al-Qaeda and its relationship with the Taliban of Afghanistan, the Muslim Brotherhood of Egypt, Islamic Moro extremists in the Philippines, obscure Algerian terrorist groups, and other sympathetic underworld organizations throughout the Middle East. This book supplies the answer to the question that has been on the minds of all Americans since September 11: Why do they hate us? Murphy makes it clear that as the chief backer of Israel the United States is seen by extremists as the evil power behind the hated "Zionist enemy" in the Middle East. But he also emphasizes that in the final analysis we are the only country with the power to bring terrorist attacks to a halt.
360 pp • ISBN 1-59102-010-7 HC $26

THE QUEST FOR THE HISTORICAL MUHAMMAD
Edited with Translations by Ibn Warraq
". . . there is . . . much useful scholarship here; not only has Warraq provided a highly readable critical survey of the literature of this quest, he has also collected the most important texts needed to begin a more objective evaluation of Islam's sacred tradition." —Publishers Weekly
554 pp • ISBN 1-57392-787-2 • HC $37

WHY I AM NOT A MUSLIM
Ibn Warraq
Foreword by R. Joseph Hoffmann
"Warraq may well be the most prominent authority on Islamic history and culture who is not a Muslim apologist or a political partisan but a critic." —The Weekly Standard
428 pp (Glossary, Bibliography, Index)
ISBN 0-87975-984-4 • HC $31

WHAT THE KORAN REALLY SAYS
Language, Text, and Commentary
Edited with Translations by Ibn Warraq
An excellent collection of critical commentaries on the Koran published by noted scholars from the beginning of the 20th century to recent times. This outstanding volume will be a welcome resource to interested lay readers and scholars alike.
600 pp • ISBN 1-57392-945-X • HC $36

Prometheus Books
Call toll free (800) 421-0351 • marketing@prometheusbooks.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Muslim countries proved extremely resistant to abolition; many of them had to be dragged into it by the European colonial powers. It is hard to imagine a serious person calling for America to enslave its enemies. Yet a prominent Saudi cleric, Shaikh Saad Al-Buraik, recently urged Palestinians to do exactly that with Jews: "Their women are yours to take, legitimately. God made them yours. Why don't you enslave their women?"

Words are one thing, and actions another. Even today, however, Islamic abolition cannot be called a complete success: Slavery continues to be practiced in at least two nations whose regimes claim to derive their legitimacy from Islam. These nations are Mauritania and Sudan, and Muslims remain virtually silent about the practices of their coreligionists there.

■

Slavery continues to be practiced in at least two nations whose regimes claim to derive their legitimacy from Islam.

■

Slavery is an ancient institution, as old as recorded history. Aristotle defended it; both the Old and New Testaments accept it as a feature of the human condition. The Koran takes a similar view—though it also encourages (without commanding) slaveholders to treat their slaves well, and urges (without requiring) their release. In Islamic theology, slave ownership is a morally neutral act, but God smiles on those who give slaves their liberty.

The characteristics of Muslim slavery have been far from uniform over the centuries, but it is possible to identify a few general traits. For starters, slaves were accorded more legal protections in the Islamic world than they received almost anywhere else. Slavery came under an intricate set of regulations that, for example, forbade the use of slaves as prostitutes, and prevented mothers and young children from being separated. The act of enslavement also wasn't supposed to occur on Muslim soil, though the slavers and their customers didn't always pay close attention to this rule. In the 19th century, Captain G. F. Lyon of the Royal Navy described slaveholding in Libya: "They seize on the inhabitants of whole towns where the only religion is that of the Koran, and where there are mosques; and this is without scruple or remorse."

There was plenty of cruelty—slavery, of course, always involves cruelty—but many chattels of Muslims were essentially domestic workers who functioned as surrogate members of the master's family. "Slaves in Islam were directed mainly at the service sector—concubines and cooks, porters and soldiers—with slavery itself primarily a form of consumption rather than a factor of production," writes Ronald Segal in *Islam's Black Slaves*. Perhaps the most important difference between slavery in the West and slavery in Islam is a demographic one: Two-thirds of the slaves transported across the Atlantic were male, and two-thirds of those involved in the Muslim trade were female.

LEGAL, NOT ACTUAL, ABOLITION

Over time, sub-Saharan Africa became the principal source of involuntary labor. Muslims were not the first people to enslave black Africans—the ancient Egyptians had done it—but they were the first to engage in it systematically on a massive scale. Going back to Islam's birth in the 7th century, historian Raymond Mauvy estimates that 14 million black slaves have been sold to Muslims. (This compares to Paul E. Lovejoy's estimate of 10 to 11 million Africans shipped in chains to the Western Hemisphere between 1650 and 1900; the vast majority of them were sent to Latin America and the Caribbean, and half a million to British North America and the U.S.) The journey from the slave's homeland to the Middle East was often a treacherous one, especially when it involved enduring the blistering heat of a Sahara crossing. Yet the march was dangerous everywhere—an Islamic version of the brutal Middle Passage. The dead frequently outnumbered the survivors on these journeys, often by a lot. Slavers accepted the high casualty rates because their business was so lucrative. "It is like sending up to London for a large block of ice in the summer," wrote a 19th-century missionary in what is now Tanzania. "You know that a certain amount of it will melt away before it reaches you . . . but that which remains will be quite sufficient for your wants."

The oddest aspect of Islamic slavery was the eunuch. Castrated male slaves became exceedingly popular in the Middle East sometime after the rise of Islam. They are best known for serving as harem guards, but they were also mosque custodians, administrators, and teachers. Eunuchs were bought and sold at a premium, in part because their grisly operation resulted in many fatalities. Their popularity remains something of a mystery. "One can only speculate that eunuchs were regarded as likely to be more devoted and dependable in serving their masters than other males, with normal distractions, would be," writes Segal. Whatever the reason, eunuchs became fixtures of Muslim culture. Islam teaches against physical mutilation, so Muslims found themselves searching for loopholes. Many eunuchs were castrated in non-Muslim territory immediately before importation, in the belief that this somehow kept Islamic land pure; a business in commercial castration thus developed along the fringes of the Muslim world. (Prague is said to have specialized in this during the period when Islam imported many slaves from Europe.) Muslims later accepted castration within their own lands, so long as non-Muslims performed the deed.

Slavery, in short, was an ingrained part of Islamic culture—and it might still have been one today, but for European insistence that Muslims end it. As recently as 1878, the holy cities of Mecca and Medina served as major slave markets, trading 25,000 slaves annually. The eradication of slavery, in fact, is one of the great and unheralded legacies of colonialism.

The first Islamic countries to abolish slavery—Tunisia, Egypt, the Ottoman Empire—did so under pressure from the West. Others were more obstinate. In East Africa, slavery continued until after World War I. Its persistence into the 20th century explains why the League of Nations prioritized the abolition of slavery, even though doing so must have seemed an anachronism to unsuspecting Westerners. It wasn't until the start of World War II that Ethiopia and Liberia had gotten rid of slavery. Later still, the U.N.'s Declaration of Human Rights condemned slavery—again, because the Islamic world had failed to wipe it out. In 1953, sheikhs from Qatar attending the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II included slaves in their retinues, and they did so again on another visit five years later. Saudi Arabia and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Yemen didn't get around to abolishing slavery until 1962; three years later, a special report by the U.N. reported that the Saudi royal family continued to keep hundreds in bondage.

TODAY'S SLAVE STATES

Mauritania outlawed slavery in 1980, apparently because its two earlier prohibitions (in 1905 and 1960) were ignored. Today, it is illegal for Mauritanians to say that slavery exists in their country—a sure sign that it really does. By some estimates, at least 100,000 of Mauritania's 2.7 million people continue to live in unpaid servitude, most of them blacks toiling for light-skinned Moorish masters. Slavery goes back centuries in Mauritania, and there's a long tradition of slaves' working for the same family across generations. Apologists say that those who remain in this capacity aren't slaves at all, but servants who volunteer to trade their labor for room and board. Yet these claims are effectively rebutted by a small group of escapees who have delivered powerful personal testimonies of beatings and bondage. Reliable information on what's really happening in Mauritania is hard to come by because the Islamic government won't allow investigations. Foreign journalists must travel in the company of the secret police and face expulsion if they ask too many questions. In January, the government banned the main opposition party, which has demanded slavery's eradication. Mauritania has far to go before slavery ceases within its borders.

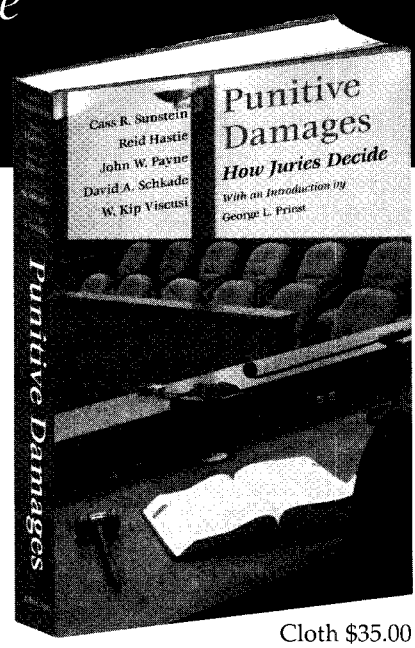
Sudan has received considerably more attention than Mauritania. In April, an organization affiliated with the Boston-based American Anti-Slavery Group made headlines by purchasing 3,000 slaves at $33 apiece and releasing them, and also negotiating the release of 3,000 others. Another group, the Swiss-based Christian Solidarity International, says it has bought freedom for 60,000 slaves in Sudan over the last several years. (This raises a separate question: Does buying slaves from modern-day slave traders wind up perpetuating their wretched business?) As with Mauritania, there are no truly credible numbers describing the extent of the problem. Sudan has engaged in slaving and slaveholding for ages; the current wave seems to have begun in 1983, with the imposition of Islamic law. Following the 1989 coup by the Islamofascist general Omar el-Bashir, the government became actively involved in arming the slavers and supporting their operations in the southern part of the country, where Muslims are outnumbered by Christians and other non-Muslims. These slavers' methods are especially vicious: The men are shot, the women and girls are sold into concubinage, and the boys are fortunate if they become unpaid cattle herders.

In considering the history of slavery in Islam and in the West, it is a mistake to decide that one branch of the same evil represents the greater sin. Instead, it is probably enough to say the human toll in both places was horrible: Call it "immoral equivalence." But there's an important difference today. The United States finds itself apologizing for slavery (at least when Bill Clinton visits Africa), handing out huge amounts of foreign aid (partly from a sense of guilt), and giving at least passing thought to financial reparations for the descendants of its own slaves. Yet when Muslim countries gather at international forums, they discuss none of this—and instead spend their time writing resolutions bashing Israel and the West. They appear to feel no remorse for the past, and no responsibility for the present. While the West has its problems, it does not have this one. **NR**

Punitive Damages

How Juries Decide

With an Introduction by
George L. Priest



Cass R. Sunstein,
Reid Hastie,
John W. Payne,
David A. Schkade,
and **W. Kip Viscusi**

Cloth $35.00

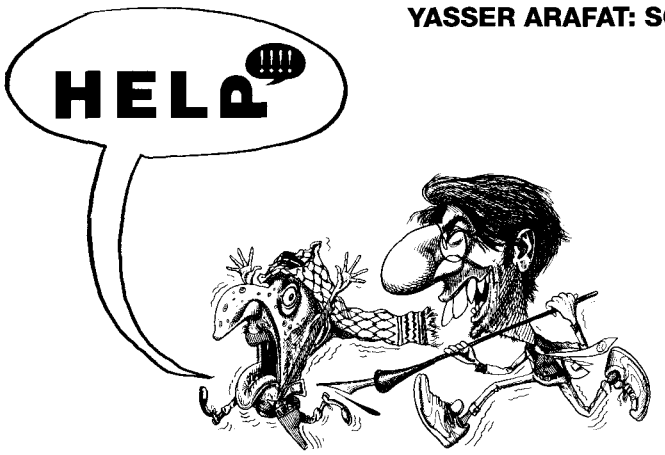
In this book, eminent scholars in psychology, economics, and the law report on their extensive empirical studies with thousands of mock jurors, hundreds of mock juries, and a representative sample of sitting judges. Their findings answer critical questions about how juries make decisions regarding punitive damages.

- Do juries follow the judge's instructions?
- Does deliberation really moderate jury awards?
- Do juries punish or reward careful cost-benefit analysis?
- Are juries subject to hindsight bias?
- How do juries compare to judges?

Available in bookstores.
The University of Chicago Press
www.press.uchicago.edu

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

YASSER ARAFAT: SCENES FROM A LIFE



The subject pursued by the artist, Roman Genn

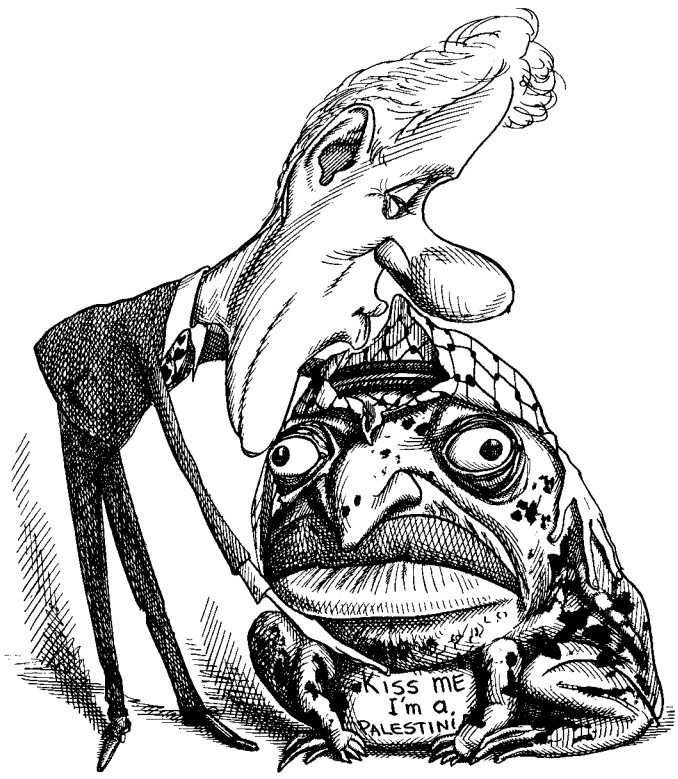
A Peaceful Childhood

Undisputed Leader of the Palestinians

Booted from Beirut

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Nobelist



Mistaken for an Intern?

Surrounded (Temporarily)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE LONG VIEW

By Rob Long

The Candidates' Diaries
Version française

From the diary of Lionel Jospin:

I am a sad clown. Today I discovered the depth of my humiliation. Jean-Marie Le Pen, leader of the proto-fascist movement, has bested me in the national elections. What to do, what to make of the despair I feel? It is as if my lover has found another man and my wife has left me for her lover, and I am left only with my other lover, a woman for whom I no longer feel passion. Such is my misery.

I mourn for *La France*. I mourn for her many cheeses and varied sauces, for her plotless films and smothering bureaucracy. I mourn her *turbot en papillote* and her *ris de veau sauté avec petits pois au beurre* and her *poulet de Bresse*.

And, *bien sûr*, I blame *les Américains*. They have exported more than *le Big Mac* and *les boy-bands*. They have exported *le populisme américain*, which enables an absurdity such as Le Pen to rise. And I? I am a figure of yesterday. I will sit alone in the corner of Le Petit St-Benoît, sipping *vin ordinaire* and thinking of my lost lover. And also of *La France*.

From the diary of Jean-Marie Le Pen:

O la la! I say *formidable!* With the gusto of a young Sancerre, with the richness of a *confit de canard* from le Périgord.

Am I, as they say in *Le Figaro*, a bit "nutty"? Yes! Yes, I say! I am nutty like a wonderfully ripe Pont-l'Evêque.

I am, in short, *la France entière*. I awoke yesterday morning to discover that I had bested the cretin of Brussels, the monkey of the EU, the *porteur d'eau* of the immigrant and the criminal, Lionel Jospin. To him I say "ha!" To him I say, "I banish you to the miserable but stylish life of a broken man, to sip *vin ordinaire* in some café, thinking of your lost lover!" Or something along those lines.

This morning I enjoyed a *grand crème* and a *pain aux raisins* with my copy of the surrealist nonsense of *Le Monde*. My waiter approached me with a sliver of a smile and I knew that he, too, was a member of my brigade. "*Ce n'est pas seulement les immigrés qui sont en train de détruire la France*," he muttered as he counted out my euros (and that's another thing I will change!), "*c'est aussi la crise philosophique de la vie technologique et la mort de l'esprit de l'homme moderne*."

I nodded. "*N'oubliez-pas*," I added, "*les juifs*."

He nodded. "*Et aussi les Américains*."

I shrugged. "*Ah, oui, bien sûr les Américains*."

From the diary of Jacques Chirac:

I was enjoying my morning facial (only 150 euros per treatment, paid in cash, a gift to me from the center-left coalition party, which is totally legal) when Aleef, my pedicurist, mentioned that Le Pen was asking for a presidential debate.

"*Merde!*" I shouted, wiggling my toes so violently that the tiny *boules de coton* squeezed out from between my toes, causing Aleef much distress.

The insolence of the man! The absurdity of his elevation! It is politics as farce! It is an act of irrationality that qualifies as art!

It is also a load off my mind. I shall not debate the man. I shall, instead, sail to victory, for another six years in office.

Tonight, as I was enjoying a lovely *rôti d'agneau aux morilles et fèves* and drinking a simple Volnay (only about 450 euros, *service compris*, paid in cash from my Gaullist-party cash fund, as the law requires), I reflected on the tragedy of Jospin. He will end his days as a sad quasi-cretin, sitting in some awful café, drinking *vin ordinaire* by himself, abandoned by his lovers. And then I suddenly realized that I alone must rescue *La France* from the neo-fascist proto-*Américain* Jean-Marie Le Pen. He with his love of debates and publicity and *les sound-bites* is bringing *l'imbécilité américaine* to French politics, and he must be stopped. He must be stopped cold. I shall fight him. I alone shall crush him.

Either that, or possibly invite him to form some kind of coalition government.

And then I went to bed. For some reason, it was impossible to get comfortable, until my lover reminded me of the sacks of money (347,000 euros in total, part of my completely legal and legitimate political-outreach funds) that were lodged beneath the mattress. She and I then lifted the top mattress and removed the money, lodging it in the Louis XIV armoire (a gift from the left-center-socialist-party coalition, paid in cash—23,430 euros—as is totally honest). It was a cumbersome and difficult operation. I complained bitterly to my lover about it, pointing out that it had ruined my manicure. She was unsympathetic. And I could hear my wife laughing in the next room, too.

What black irony. I am a king to the outside world, but in my home I am a silly clown.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

Oh What a . . . Small War

MACKUBIN THOMAS OWENS

The Savage Wars of Peace: Small Wars and the Rise of American Power, by Max Boot (Basic, 428 pp., $30)

WHEN George W. Bush became president, academics and policymakers alike fretted that his election signaled a "return to isolationism." That the United States was isolationist until the early part of the 20th century, and that even afterward isolationism remained the default preference of the American people, are among the things that "everyone knows." Everyone also "knows" that the traditional purpose of the U.S. military has been to fight and win the nation's wars in defense of vital national interests, and that the sort of peacekeeping and humanitarian operations in which the U.S. military has been involved since the end of the Cold War constitute "non-traditional" missions. Finally, they "know" that the "American Way of War" seeks to annihilate the enemy, relies on technology and firepower to reduce U.S. casualties, requires the services of "citizen soldiers," and has as its goal total victory in conventional wars against other states.

But as the *Wall Street Journal*'s Max Boot illustrates in this remarkable new book, when it comes to the history of U.S. foreign policy, Will Rogers was right when he claimed that "it's not the things we don't know that get us into trouble. It's the things we know that just ain't true." The real history of U.S. policy has been, from the very beginning, about as far removed from these shibboleths as one can imagine.

Mr. Owens is a professor at the Naval War College.

A British ally signals a U.S. gunboat in China.

Boot makes it clear that the U.S. has never been shy about pursuing an activist foreign policy, and that it has done so for a variety of reasons—not just out of concern for economic and security interests, but also to advance moral and humanitarian goals. Often, all such causes were in play at the same time—as with the U.S. interventions in the Caribbean during the early part of the 20th century.

He also demolishes the claim that the primary focus of the U.S. military traditionally has been to fight and win big wars. Indeed, throughout most of its history, the norm has been what the British soldier and military writer C. E. Calwell described as "campaigns undertaken to suppress rebellion and guerrilla warfare . . . where organized armies are struggling against opponents who will not meet them in the open field." In recent years, American policymakers have coined for these sorts of operations such bureaucratic terms as "non-traditional missions," "low-intensity conflict," or "military operations other than war"; but before World War II, they were called small wars. Kipling called them "the savage wars of peace."

This book is not only an eminently readable and entertaining narrative history of America's small wars, but also a serious analysis of current strategic challenges. Whether we like it or not, the U.S. has become a de facto imperial power, and a major military requirement of such a power is to conduct constabulary operations that amount to "imperial policing." As Boot shows, we have been doing this since the 19th century.

His narrative has three parts. The first covers the rising commercial republic, until the end of the 19th century. During this period, U.S. forces were extensively involved in operations stretching from the Mediterranean to China, including expeditions to Sumatra, Korea, and Samoa; the longest and most important was against the Barbary states of North Africa. Most of these operations were naval in character, short-term expeditions of the sort the British called "butcher and bolt."

The book's second part describes America's rise to great-power status, up to World War II. This was the heyday of small wars, as the U.S. policed the empire it had seized from Spain. Soldiers, sailors, and Marines conducted operations in China (the Boxer Rebellion), the Philippines, Russia, Mexico, and the Caribbean and Central America, where a Pax Americana was created. These campaigns were often sustained, requiring the occupation and pacification of extensive territories. Most were successful. Some were not.

The Central American operations, often derided as "banana wars," helped to keep the Europeans, especially the Germans, away from the approaches to the Panama Canal. But they frequently transcended realpolitik. For instance, U.S. Marines engaged in what today

BooksNow
To order these books, (24hrs, 365 days) please call (800) 962-6651 (Ext. 3700) or visit us at http://www.booksnow.com

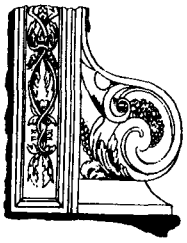
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

would be called "nation building" and even sought to create the conditions necessary to establish constitutional government in places such as Haiti and Nicaragua. Taking issue with those who have criticized U.S. imperialism in this region, Boot writes that the region's history proves that "the only thing more unsavory than U.S. intervention . . . was U.S. nonintervention."

In his third section, Boot examines America as a post–World War II superpower. It was during this period that the U.S. largely abandoned its small-wars tradition, as professional soldiers turned their attention to preparing for large-scale conventional wars against the armed forces of other states. "The Marines alone embraced [small wars] as part of their raison d'être," Boot writes, "and in the decade leading up to World War II they compiled the lessons of their hard-won experience in the Small Wars Manual." The Army's preference for fighting a conventional large war was on display in Vietnam. In the book's most controversial chapter, Boot analyzes the Vietnam War and concludes that the outcome might have been different had the U.S. pursued the small-wars approach—which had worked well in the past—instead of large-unit "search and destroy" operations. His argument pits him against such respected analysts as the late Harry Summers, but places him on the same side as Andrew Krepinevich and the legendary Marine general Victor H. Krulak.

Boot offers a persuasive critique of the Weinberger/Powell doctrine, which holds that the U.S. should use force only when "vital interests" are at stake, and even then only if there is nearly total public support, as well as an "exit strategy" designed to bring the troops home as quickly as possible. He argues that the lessons of past small wars serve as a better guide for policymakers; after all, he observes, there is nothing novel in U.S. history about undeclared wars, wars without "exit strategies," wars in which soldiers serve as "social workers," wars not involving "vital national interests," and wars without significant popular support.

Boot is an exceptional writer and his engaging style is tailor-made for this type of narrative. Ranging from Stephen Decatur and operations against the Barbary pirates to the exploits of such legendary Marines as Smedley Butler and Chesty Puller as they chased bandits, kept the peace, and engaged in nation building in the Caribbean, Boot's tale is fascinating. He does for U.S. military history what Byron Farwell did for the British in his popular book *Queen Victoria's Little Wars*.



But *The Savage Wars of Peace* is far more than a collection of colorful vignettes about Americans fighting in exotic places. It has an important purpose: to raise the question of how best to use force to manage America's informal—but nonetheless very real—empire. Boot is one of a group of prominent writers—including Charles Krauthammer and Robert Kaplan—who argue that U.S. "primacy," or what Robert Kagan calls "benevolent hegemony," is best not only for the U.S. but also for the rest of the world, insofar as it wishes to benefit from a liberal world order. Primacy is based on a theory of international relations called "hegemonic stability," which holds that a liberal international trade regime does not arise spontaneously through the actions of a global "invisible hand"; it arises only in the presence of a hegemonic power, a state willing and able to provide the world with the collective goods of economic stability and international security. As Thomas L. Friedman of the *New York Times* has put it, "the hidden hand of the global market would never work without the hidden fist."

According to this theory, a decline in relative U.S. power could create a more disorderly, less peaceful world. The precedent is the decay of Pax Britannica—which decay, many believe, created the necessary if not sufficient conditions for the two world wars of the 20th century. As British hegemony declined, smaller states that had previously had incentives to cooperate with Britain "defected" to other powers, causing the international system to fragment. The outcome was depression and war.

Boot argues that U.S. leaders should be less apologetic, less hesitant, and less humble about deploying American power. He acknowledges that there is always the danger of imperial overstretch and hubris; but there is, he concludes, "an equal, if not greater, danger of undercommitment and lack of confidence. America should not be afraid to fight 'the savage wars of peace' if necessary to enlarge the 'empire of liberty.' It has done it before."

Boot makes a strong case in behalf of Pax Americana, and a military prepared to conduct imperial policing. But while he praises the Marines for their attention to small wars, he doesn't address what it might take to change the mindset of the U.S. Army regarding these tasks. The Army, after all, must continue to plan to fight conventional wars; how will it adapt to the use of its ground troops for imperial policing?

There is a strong tendency among today's Army officers to view such operations as "nontraditional missions." This is because today's U.S. Army is Emory Upton's army. Upton was an innovative officer with an outstanding Civil War record who later became a protégé of William

Evening Wind

One foot on the floor, one knee in bed,
Bent forward on both hands as if to leap
Into a heaven of silken cloud, or keep
An old appointment—tryst, one almost said—
Some promise, some entanglement that led
In broad daylight to privacy and sleep,
To dreams of love, the rapture of the deep,
Oh, everything, that must be left unsaid—

Why then does she suddenly look aside
At a white window full of empty space
And curtains swaying inward? Does she sense
In darkening air the vast indifference
That enters in and will not be denied,
To breathe unseen upon her nakedness?

after an etching by Edward Hopper

—Robert Mezey

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Tecumseh Sherman. When Sherman became general-in-chief of the Army, he sent Upton around the world as a military observer. Upton was impressed by Prussian military policy and its emphasis on professionalism; upon his return to the U.S., he proposed a number of radical reforms, including abandoning the citizen-soldier model, relying on a professional soldiery, and reducing civilian interference in military affairs. All of his proposals, naturally, were rejected; in ill health, he resigned from the Army and later committed suicide.

But he was ahead of his time. With the triumph of Progressivism (and its emphasis on scientific expertise and professionalism), the end of the Army's constabulary duties on the western frontier, and the problems associated with mobilizing for and fighting the Spanish-American War, Upton's proposals became more attractive to the Army's officer corps. In 1904, secretary of war Elihu Root published Upton's *Military Policy of the United States*. While many of Upton's more radical proposals remained beyond the pale, his idea of reorienting the Army away from constabulary duties to a mission focused on defeating conventional forces became U.S. policy. The Army returned to constabulary duties after World War I, but Upton's spirit had permeated the professional Army culture. World War II seemed to vindicate his opinions, which continue to dominate most of the Army today, with the possible exception of its small and elite Special Operations Forces.

In the 20th century the Army moved away from constabulary duties.

The fact that transforming military bureaucracies will not be easy is no reason not to start. Boot's book provides a readable, entertaining, and enlightening rationale for doing so. He observes that "the past is an uncertain guide to the future, but is the only one we have"; and thanks to him, the past has been illuminated in a way that improves its value as a guide to the future. **NR**

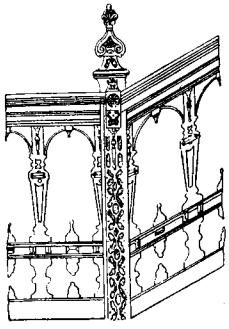
Exiles on Main Street

JOHN DERBYSHIRE

The Middle of Everywhere: The World's Refugees Come to Our Town, by Mary Pipher (Harcourt, 416 pp., $25)

I APPROACHED this book with the maximum possible amount of ill will. Mary Pipher, Ph.D.—that's how she is billed on the book's back flap—is the author of *Reviving Ophelia*, the 1994 classic of victimology in which adolescent girls were revealed to be groaning under the iron heel of patriarchal oppression. I have been thinking of Mary Pipher, Ph.D., as part of that Axis of Evil that comprises, amongst numerous others, feminist Carol Gilligan, who was Harvard's first Professor of Gender Studies, and William Pollack, Ph.D. (what is it with these people and their degrees?), who wrote a 1998 book, *Real Boys*, around the basic idea that boys ought to be encouraged to act more like girls.

In her new book, Mary Pipher, Ph.D., takes on the issue of foreign refugees settling in America's heartland. She approaches this subject not as a political analyst, though she is quite free with political remarks, but as an observer who is involved, through both volunteer and professional work, in helping these people adjust to life in the United States.



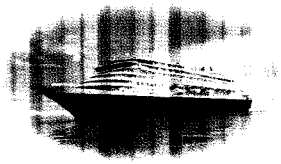
I note in passing that there is a great deal to say about the business of asylum from a policy point of view. Like the larger matter of immigration, this is a topic so hedged around with fashionable taboos, it doesn't get half the airing it ought to. The asylum process is apparently riddled with abuses: In my newspaper today there is a report of a Manhattan lawyer who has pleaded guilty to submitting over 1,000 fraudulent asylum applications.

However, Mary Pipher is not a policy intellectual. Where political remarks occur in this book, they are gratuitous, and have the flavor of being addressed to the choir: We all agree on this, surely? I have the impression that Pipher, though indubitably on the political Left, belongs to that section I think of privately as the "innocent Left." She would, I believe, be genuinely astounded to learn that there are people—thoughtful, well-educated people, not gap-toothed hillbillies—who disagree with her on points of policy. She is certainly plenty innocent about the Third World: "I was embarrassed to tell her [an Iraqi-Kurdish refugee girl] that we Americans lie to people to make money." I do not think that Middle Eastern cultures are entirely free of this phenomenon.

The author's principal purpose in this book is to tell some stories about actual refugees, by way of offering advice to professionals—teachers, social workers, and so on—who have to deal with these newcomers. We are thus introduced to an assortment of refugees who, having passed through the appropriate process and been admitted to the U.S., find themselves in Lincoln, Neb., which is the hometown of Mary Pipher. (Federal policy is to disperse refugees to all parts of the country, rather than encourage them to congregate in a few big cities.) The refugees come from the Middle East, Southeast Asia, the Balkans, Africa, and Central America. Many of them have stories to tell of terrible things that happened to themselves and their families. Since such things undoubtedly have happened in those places, I am willing to believe that they happened to these actual individuals, though I wish I felt more sure that someone in the INS were checking diligently.

These case studies reveal odd fault lines in the doctrines of "diversity" and "multiculturalism." A conversation with three men from southern Iraq, for example, brings up the horror Middle Eastern Muslims feel at the way American men treat their women. They are outraged at the fact that, in America, young women get pregnant

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



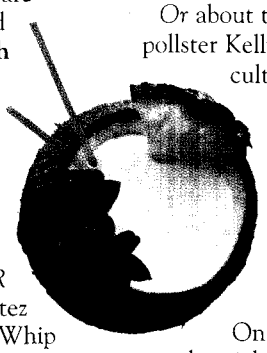
THE NATIONAL REVIEW 2002 POST-ELECTION MEXICO CRUISE

Sailing November 16–23 aboard Holland America's MS *Ryndam* with

KENNETH STARR, MILTON FRIEDMAN, WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR, ARTHUR LAFFER, KATE O'BEIRNE, RICH LOWRY, CAL THOMAS, KELLYANNE CONWAY, JAY NORDLINGER, DINESH D'SOUZA, RAMESH PONNURU; TOM DELAY AND DAN QUAYLE ALSO EXPECTED!

Here's your special opportunity to take part in one of the most exciting seafaring adventures you will ever experience: the ***National Review* 2002 Post-Election Mexico Cruise**. Featuring an incredible cast of conservative celebrity speakers—and extremely affordable accommodations—this special trip will take place November 16–23, 2002, aboard Holland America Line's stunning MS *Ryndam*.

This is a *unique* opportunity to meet America's most preeminent conservative celebrities: "Definites" for this special voyage are Judge **Kenneth Starr**, economists **Milton Friedman** and **Arthur Laffer**, columnist **Cal Thomas**, author **Dinesh D'Souza**, and ace pollster **Kellyanne Conway**. They'll be joining *NR* founder **William F. Buckley Jr.**, Editor **Rich Lowry**, Washington Editor **Kate O'Beirne**, Senior Editor **Ramesh Ponnuru**, and Managing Editor **Jay Nordlinger** for a relaxing week of political shop-talk, conservative revelry, and world-class cruising.



Also "strongly interested" in joining the hundreds of *NR* readers who'll take our trip to the sun-drenched Sea of Cortez are former Vice President **Dan Quayle** and House Majority Whip **Tom DeLay**. Without question, that's an *incredible* line-up.

Not only will our Mexico sojourn feature a spectacular speaker ensembles—it will also be the most affordable *NR* voyage ever (this will be our 12th!). If you've never been on an *NR* cruise make this your *first:* Prices start at an *incredibly* low $1,999!

An *NR* cruise is your chance to meet and intimately discuss politics and policy with some of the true giants of conservative affairs. Our exciting seminars—we've scheduled five panel sessions on our Mexico sojourn—allow for ample audience "Q & A," providing a scintillating take on current events. Imagine:

Where does one even begin to ask Ken Starr questions?!

Who better than renowned Nobel Prize-winning economist Milton Friedman and Arthur Laffer—the man behind that most famous of curves—to discuss America's fiscal health?!

Can you get better insight on the Bush administration and the prosecution of the War on Terrorism than from Dan Quayle?!

Or about what's *really* happening on Capitol Hill than from Tom DeLay?!

Or about the public's mood on major issues than from ace pollster Kellyanne Fitzpatrick?!—*or* better analysis on America's culture conflicts than from columnist Cal Thomas or author Dinesh D'Souza?!

These conservative giants will be joined in political elucidating and sharp-shooting by *NR*'s editorial heavyweights, led by William F. Buckley Jr., who will be ably assisted by Rich Lowry, Kate O'Beirne, Ramesh Ponnuru, and Jay Nordlinger.

On top of the exclusive "extras" *NR* offers—seminars and social events (we'll have three cocktail receptions and two late-night poolside "smokers" featuring **H. Upmann** cigars), and intimate dining with speakers—is a *great* cruise on a *great* ship. The *Ryndam* is one of the more beloved vessels of Holland America Line (which readers of *Travel & Leisure* last year voted the world's Highest-Rated Premium Cruise Line!).

On the ***National Review* 2002 Post-Election Mexico Cruise** you'll find the *Ryndam*'s accommodations (elegant staterooms and glamorous public spaces teeming with antiques) to be truly luxurious, and matched by the indulgent, courteous staff, superior cuisine, and top-notch entertainment and excursions.

A FANTASTIC WEEK OF FUN, SUN, AND CONSERVATIVE REVELRY

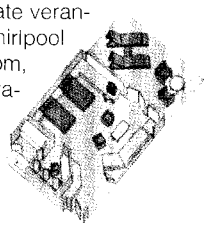
DAY/DATE	PORT	ARRIVE	DEPART	SPECIAL EVENTS
Sat/Nov. 16	San Diego		6:00PM	
Sun/Nov. 17	AT SEA			afternoon seminar evening cocktail reception
Mon/Nov. 18	AT SEA			morning/afternoon seminars late-night poolside smoker
Tues/Nov. 19	Loreto	7:00AM	5:00PM	
Wed/Nov. 20	Pichilingue/La Paz	8:00AM	6:00PM	evening cocktail reception
Thur/Nov. 21	Cabo San Lucas	7:00AM	4:00PM	afternoon seminar late-night smoker
Fri/Nov. 22	AT SEA			afternoon seminar evening cocktail reception
Sat/Nov. 23	San Diego	8:00AM		

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

OVER 80 CABINS RESERVED ALREADY! DON'T DELAY, BOOK TODAY!
SPECTACULAR STATEROOMS STARTING AT ONLY $1,999 P/P!

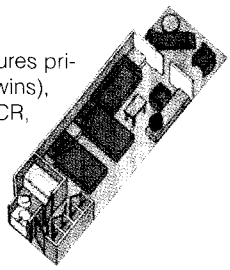
Travel experts agree: Holland America Line offers high-valued premium cruising. Superior service, gourmet cuisine, elegant accommodations, and great entertainment await you on the beautiful *Ryndam*. Prices are per-person, based on double occupancy, and include port fees, taxes, gratuities, transfers (for those booking airfare through HAL), all meals, entertainment, and admittance to and participation in all *National Review* functions. Rates for third/fourth person in cabin: $1,199 p/p for ages 2 and older, $752 p/p for children younger than 2.

SUITE Luxury quarters (563 sq. ft.) features private verandah, king-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), whirlpool bath/shower, floor-to-ceiling windows, dressing room, large sitting area, sofa bed, VCR, mini-bar, refrigerator, concierge servce, complimentary personalized stationery, hors d'oeuvres, dry cleaning, and more, plus special disembarkation privileges.



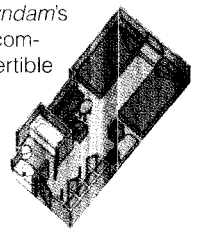
Category S
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 3,599 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 5,999

MINI SUITE Large stateroom (284 sq. ft.) features private verandah, king-size bed (convertible to 2 twins), sofa bed, whirlpool bath/shower, sitting area, VCR, mini-bar, refrigerator, floor-to-ceiling windows.



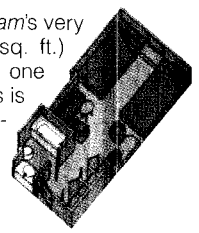
Categories A and B
"A" DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 2,999 P/P
"A" SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 4,599
"B" DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 2,899 P/P
"B" SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 4,299

LARGE OUTSIDE STATEROOM The *Ryndam*'s large "Outside Staterooms" (197 sq. ft.) are comfortable and feature a queen-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), a large picture window, plus bath/shower combination.



Category D
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 2,499 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 2,999

LARGE INSIDE STATEROOM The *Ryndam*'s very accommodating "Inside Staterooms," (182 sq. ft.) offer 2 twin beds that are convertible to one queen-size bed, plus a bath with shower. This is a very affordable category designed to provide you with maximum comfort.



Category K
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 1,999 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 2,599

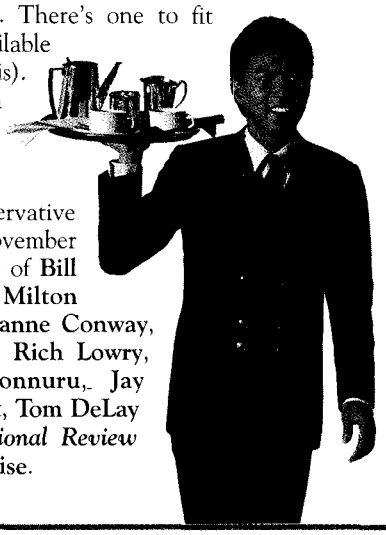
You'll want to join us for the exciting political discussions, the luxurious cruise experience, and the rest and relaxation you so richly deserve. *And* for the remarkable destinations. The ***National Review* 2002 Post-Election Mexico Cruise** will feature a balmy itinerary, starting in San Diego and—over seven glorious days around the "Baja California Sur"—visiting beautiful **Loreto, La Paz** (and nearby **Pichilingue**) and **Cabo San Lucas** (plus scenic cruising of "Sierra de la Giganta"). Here are some port highlights:

LORETO: *Frommer's Mexico 2002* guide puts it best: Loreto "is a rare gem that sparkles under the desert sky. Here, the purple hues of the Giganta Mountains meet the indigo waters of the Sea of Cortez, providing a spectacular backdrop of natural contrasts for the town's historical past." Site of the first mission in the Californias (*Mision Nuestra Señora de Loreto* and *Museo de las Misiones* are must-sees) and the first European settlement on the Baja, Loreto remains, says *Frommer's*, "the wonderfully funky fishing village and well-kept secret that it has been for decades."

LA PAZ/PICHILINGUE: "La Paz," says *Frommer's*, "means 'peace,' and the feeling seems to float on the ocean breezes" here. It "remains slow-paced and relaxed . . . an easy-going sophisticated city and the guardian of 'old Baja' atmosphere, with beautiful deserted beaches just minutes away that compliment the lively beach and malecón that fronts the town center." Best known from John Steinbeck's *The Pearl*, La Paz—a haven for kayaking, fishing, and diving (you can even swim with sea lions off Espíritu Santo and Los Islotes)—is "the undisputed adventure capital of Baja."

CABO SAN LUCAS: Once renowned for big-game fishing, Cabo San Lucas is now a mecca for golf (there are Jack Nicklaus- and Robert Trent Jones-designed courses here—we'll be setting up an exclusive *NR* outing for any wanna-duffers), kayaking, and superior "R&R"-ing on gorgeous beaches.

Over 80 cabins have been reserved by *NR* cruise "alumni" (they come back again and again because of the wonderful experiences our trips provide). Sign up today and join them for on what will be one of the best weeks you will ever enjoy. Just fill out the application form on the following page, and return it (by mail or fax) so you can secure your stateroom. There's one to fit everyone's taste and budget (available on a first come, first served basis). You'll also find pricing on Holland America's affordable "Fly Cruise" airfare program.



Take part in a truly special conservative event. Join us in Mexico this November on the *Ryndam*, in the company of **Bill Buckley, Kenneth Starr, Milton Friedman, Arthur Laffer, Kellyanne Conway, Cal Thomas, Dinesh D'Souza, Rich Lowry, Kate O'Beirne, Ramesh Ponnuru, Jay Nordlinger**, and, we're confident, **Tom DeLay** and **Dan Quayle**—on the ***National Review* 2002 Post-Election Mexico Cruise.**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

National Review 2002 Post-Election Mexico Cruise Application

Mail to: National Review Cruise, The Cruise Authority, 1307 Powers Ferry Rd., Marietta, GA 30067-5409 or Fax to 770-916-1425

Please fill out application completely and mail with deposit check or fax with credit-card information. One application per cabin. If you want more than one cabin, make copies of this application. For questions call The Cruise Authority at 800-707-1634.

Personal

Shirt size (M/L/XL)

Name #1 (full legal name) + Nickname

Shirt size (M/L/XL)

Name #2 (full legal name) + Nickname

Names #3 & #4 (if taking others in your cabin)

Street Mailing Address

( )

City State ZIP

Daytime Phone

Special Information (medical conditions, celebrating anniversary, etc.)

Payment

A deposit of $700 per cabin is due with this application. Cabins and categories are available on a first come, first served basis. *Suites are limited!*

☐ My deposit of $350 per person is included.
(Make checks payable to "National Review Cruise")

☐ Charge to: AmEx ☐ Visa ☐ MasterCard ☐ Discover

☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

Expiration Date (Month) ☐☐ (Year) ☐☐

Authorized Signature of Cardholder/Guest

Information and price quote on Cancellation Fee Waiver/Medical Insurance will accompany your statement. Cancellation Penalty Schedule follows (cancellations must be received in writing by the date indicated):

PRIOR *to June 14, 2002*	*$50 per person*
June 14, 2002 to Augus16, 2002	*$350 per person*
AFTER *August 16, 2002*	*100% of cruise/package* 04/08/NR

Cruise

(All rates are per person, double occupancy, and include all port charges and taxes, all gratuities, meals, entertainment, and *National Review* activities. Cruise-only rates include all of above except airfare and transfers. Failure to appear for embarkation for any reason constitutes a cancellation subject to full penalties. Personal items not included.)

PLEASE CHECK ALL APPLICABLE BOXES!

I. CABIN CATEGORY *(see list and prices on previous page)*

First cabin category choice:_____ Second cabin category choice:_____

Bedding: Beds made up as ☐ Twin ☐ King/Queen

BOOKING SINGLE? ☐ Please try to match me with a roommate. (My age: ____)

II. AIR/TRANSFER PACKAGES

☐ We will provide our own roundtrip air and transfers to and from San Diego.
☐ Include air with our package from _____ (see list below).
☐ We need to purchase transfers from the airport to the ship at $20 per person.

III. GENERAL INFORMATION

CITIZENSHIP: Is everyone a U.S. citizen? ☐ Yes ☐ No
If No, indicate citizenship: _____
DINING: I wish to dine with _____

DINNER: ☐ 8:15PM ☐ 6:15PM (conflicts with dining with speakers/events)

IV. PRE- AND POST-CRUISE TOUR PACKAGES

☐ Please send me information on pre-/post-cruise packages in San Diego.

Important!

Everyone cruising will be required to bring either a valid passport OR a certified birth certificate (with raised seal!), plus photo ID. Failure to do so may result in being denied boarding of the *Ryndam*. Children do not require photo ID.

Responsibility: Notice is hereby given that the cruise advertised herein, including all tickets, vouchers and coupons issued and all arrangements for transportation or conveyance or for hotel or lodging or for sightseeing services are made by H20 Ltd. d/b/a The Cruise Authority (TCA) on behalf of National Review, as agency for Holland America Line (HAL), and/or service providers and/or suppliers providing services necessary for operation of the tour upon the express condition that TCA shall not be liable for injury, damage, loss, accident, delay or irregularity to any tour participant or his or her property that may result from any act or omission of any company, contractor or employee thereof providing services in connection with the tour, including but not limited to transportation, lodging, food and beverage, entertainment, sightseeing, luggage handling and tour guiding. Furthermore, TCA cannot be held responsible for delays or costs incurred resulting from weather and road connections, breakdowns, strikes, riots, acts of God, authority of law or other circumstances beyond its control. In the event that a participant be entitled to a refund of monies paid, TCA will not be liable in excess of amount paid. TCA reserves the right to decline any persons as a tour participant at any time. TCA is not responsible for price increases imposed by HAL and/or service providers. Such increases may be implemented prior to deposit received. TCA is not responsible for breach of contract or any intentional or careless actions or omissions on the part of HAL and/or service providers, such as suppliers of tours or other services used or obtained on or at the time of the cruise or shore excursions, which result in any loss, damage, delay or injury to you or your travel companions or group members. TCA does not guarantee any of such suppliers rates, booking or reservations and TCA shall not be responsible for any social or labor unrest, mechanical or construction difficulties, diseases, local laws, climate conditions, abnormal conditions or developments or any other actions, omissions or conditions outside of TCA's control. TCA, nor National Review shall be responsible for the accessibility, appearance, actions or decisions of those individuals promoted for this cruise. By embarking upon his or her travel, the traveler voluntarily assumes all risks, and is advised to obtain appropriate insurance coverage against them. Retention of tickets, reservations, or package after issuance shall constitute a consent to the above and an agreement on your part to convey the contents hereof to your travel companions.

AIR TRAVEL: Let us make your air travel arrangements with **Holland America's "Fly Cruise" Program**, which offers a convenient air program that includes round-trip, economy-class air transportation (First Class air is available on request; you can use frequent flyer points to upgrade these airfares to First Class, and all baggage transfers, from the following cities:

AL	Birmingham	669	FL	Jacksonville	549	KS	Wichita	549	MO	Springfield	619	NC	Raleigh/Durham	689	SC	Columbia	689	VA	Richmond	689
	Huntsville	679		Miami	599	KY	Lexington	619		St. Louis	559	OK	Oklahoma City	619		Greenville	689		Roanoke	689
	Mobile	599		Orlando	599		Louisville	619	MT	Billings	519		Tulsa	619	TX	Amarillo	619	WA	Seattle	379
AR	Little Rock	549		Pensacola	689	LA	Baton Rouge	619	NE	Omaha	619	OH	Akron	619		Austin	559		Spokane	479
AZ	Phoenix	289		Tampa	609		New Orleans	549	NV	Las Vegas	309		Cincinnati	549		Corpus Christi	549	WI	Madison	619
	Tucson	289	GA	Augusta	689		Shreveport	619		Reno	289		Cleveland	559		Dallas/Ft. Worth	539		Milwaukee	549
CA	Fresno	319		Atlanta	599	ME	Bangor	689	NJ	Newark	609		Columbus	539		El Paso	549			
	Los Angeles	259	HI	Honolulu	809		Portland	689	NM	Albuquerque	519		Dayton	619		Houston (IAH)	539		CANADA ($USD)	
	Oakland	289	ID	Boise	519	MD	Baltimore	599	NY	Albany	689		Toledo	619		Lubbock	619		Calgary	589
	Sacramento	289	IL	Chicago	549	MA	Boston	669		Binghamton	669	OR	Medford	369		Midland/Odessa	579		Edmonton	589
	San Francisco	289		Peoria	619		Worcester	689		Buffalo	679		Portland	379		San Antonio	539		Montreal	669
	San Jose	289		Springfield	619	MI	Detroit	549		New York	609	PA	Allentown	609	TN	Chattanooga	619		Ottawa	679
CO	Col. Springs	519	IN	Evansville	619		Grand Rapids	619		Rochester	689		Harrisburg	689		Knoxville	619		Quebec	719
	Denver	529		Ft. Wayne	619	MN	Mnpls/St. Paul	559		Syracuse	6859		Philadelphia	599		Memphis	619		Toronto	659
CT	Hartford	609		Indianapolis	549		Rochester	619	NC	Asheville	679		Pittsburgh	599		Nashville	619		Vancouver	439
DC	Washington	609	IA	Cedar Rapids	619	MS	Jackson	669		Charlotte	679	RI	Providence	689	UT	Salt Lake City	459		Victoria	559
FL	Fort Lauderdale	609		Des Moines	559	MO	Kansas City	549		Greensboro	689	SC	Charleston	689	VA	Norfolk	669		Winnipeg	619

IMPORTANT NOTES: 1. These air add-ons apply to the cruise or cruise + pre- or post-cruise package. All transfers for air/sea passengers are included. 2. Should you elect to provide your own air transportation, note that transfers from the airport to the Ryndam (Port of San Diego near downtown) are not included; the distance from airport to cruise ship is very close. Schedule your arrival in San Diego leaving plenty of time for flight delay! You should arrive in San Diego no later than 2:00pm on November 16th. Your return flight from San Diego should not be arranged before 11:00am on November 23rd. 3. Should you wish to deviate your air from the "standard" schedule, Holland America Line charges $50pp for this service. All requests must be sent in writing to The Cruise Authority. Air deviation fees are non-refundable. 4. Any special seat assignments or other requests must be made directly with the participating air carrier. You will receive your air schedule approximately 30 days prior to departure date. 5. Transfers are available for purchase from the San Diego airport for $20 per person, and must be arranged for in advance via The Cruise Authority.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

without husbands and that many children don't live with their fathers. Hamid talks of the men at his factory who go to the bars on Saturday night and find women to "do dirty things with": "An Iraqi man would not do that. He would respect women too much. We only want to marry and have families." Mamduh says he encourages the American men at his job to respect women and to marry.

Pipher seems to have found these men quite sympathetic; one is left with the vague impression that, following this conversation, she went home wondering how she would look in a burka. Here, as in several other encounters, her reactions are not those of a feminist ideologue, but of a curious, if somewhat naïve, person with too much natural sympathy for her fellow human beings to be a consistent ideologue of any kind.

■

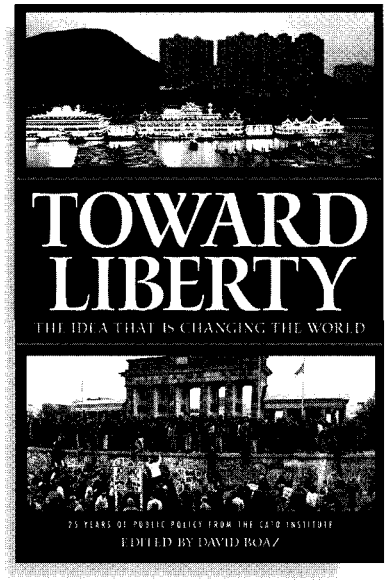
Pipher is personally kind and generous—but, in the larger matters, she is clueless.

■

In fact, I finished this book rather liking Mary Pipher. She reminds me of lefty friends and relatives of my own, people I know well and am fond of, who are ditzy about quite large areas of public policy, but sensible and useful in dealing with people and in carrying out their civic responsibilities, and who are personally kind and generous. Scanning her other productions, I note that Pipher has some sensible things to say about raising children. Even in policy matters, she is not a total dunce. She seems, for example—there are some inconsistencies here, but on balance she seems—to favor assimilation. I think she wants us to go a certain way to meet these newcomers, but nothing like as far as she wants them to come to meet us.

In the larger matters, though, she is clueless. Toward the broader issue of immigration and asylum, she has an oddly passive attitude: It is something that is happening to us, like the weather or the tides. "Soon we will be all

25 Years of Change



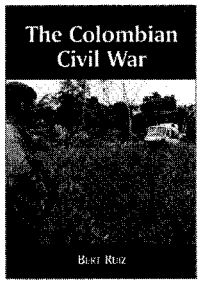
After the tyrannies and central planning of the 20th century, true liberalism is making a comeback. Everywhere that governments will allow it, people are choosing open markets, open societies, and responsibility for their own lives. In these essays Milton Friedman, F. A. Hayek, Alan Greenspan, Peter Bauer, Antonin Scalia, Walter Williams, P. J. O'Rourke, and 40 more advocates of liberty examine the fall of statism and the spread of free markets and human rights.

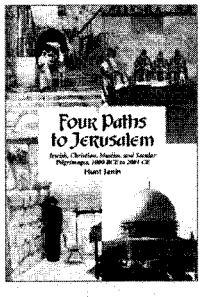
Toward Liberty: The Idea That Is Changing the World
Edited by David Boaz
460 Pages/Cloth $19.95/Paper $10.95

CATO INSTITUTE
To order call 1-800-767-1241 or visit www.cato.org

"Aid and Comfort"
Jane Fonda in North Vietnam
Henry Mark Holzer *and* Erika Holzer
Foreword by Col. George "Bud" Day
216 pages $39.95 hardcover (7 × 10) ISBN 0-7864-1247-X
Illustrations, notes, appendix, bibliography, index 2002
"OUTSTANDING ... a logical indictment for treason against Jane Fonda"
—Nelson DeMille, author of *The General's Daughter*

The Colombian Civil War
Bert Ruiz
279 pages $45 softcover (7 × 10)
ISBN 0-7864-1084-1
Photos, maps, notes, bibliography, index 2001
"COMPELLING"
—Adam Isacson, Center for International Policy
"MASTERFUL"
—Steve Johnson, Policy Analyst for Latin America





Four Paths to Jerusalem
Jewish, Christian, Muslim, and Secular Pilgrimages
Hunt Janin
272 pages $45 hardcover (7 × 10) ISBN 0-7864-1264-X
Photos, maps, notes, appendices, bibliography, index 2002
JUST PUBLISHED

McFarland
Box 611 • Jefferson NC 28640
www.mcfarlandpub.com
Orders 800-253-2187

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

together and more of us will be brown." This is very likely true, but is it what Americans actually want? Pipher rejoices at the fact that "all the beautiful diversity of the world" is pouring across America's borders, well-nigh unimpeded. Perhaps this is indeed something to rejoice about. Perhaps, on the other hand, we ought to have a public debate, with appropriate legislation to follow, about how many immigrants we want, from where, and of what ages and skills.

I cannot share Pipher's faith in the wonderful benefits of cultural diversity, or in the wickedness of tax cuts. I cannot share the shame she feels at the recollection that "the U.S. government destabilized governments in Chile, Argentina, Bolivia," etc. I am willing to write about illegal aliens without putting the phrase in scare quotes, as she does. I am skeptical of "the wisdom

■

The author rejoices at the fact that the world's 'beautiful diversity' is pouring across our borders unimpeded.

■

of [North America's] indigenous peoples," though I certainly agree with her follow-up remark: "What a different America we would have today if the first Europeans had paid more attention to native traditions." Indeed, a more open and accepting attitude towards concubinage, ritual torture, and human sacrifice, to name only the first few "native traditions" that come to mind, would make the U.S. a very different place.

Pipher is obviously a nice person, though, and I would guess that the public harm done by her silly ideas about taxation, immigration, and "diversity" is at least partly offset by much private good accomplished through her efforts to help and understand these refugees. If she ran for office in my district, I would vote for her opponent. I would, however, be glad to have her as a neighbor; and if I were a bewildered refugee dumped in Lincoln, Neb., I think I would be very glad indeed to make her acquaintance. **NR**

Steeple Chase

SARAH E. HINLICKY

The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity, by Philip Jenkins (Oxford, 304 pp., $28)

THE quasi-apocalyptic warnings are all too familiar by now. Christianity is on the way out, and the West's stranglehold on religion is going the way of the dodo (and, most of the critics add, none too soon). If the old faith of the oppressors has any hope at all, opine the advocates of obliterating "reform," it must change or die; meanwhile, the fearsome forces of Islam range unchecked across the globe, as the crescent surely and irrevocably replaces the cross. The religious landscape of this new century holds little hope for the followers of Jesus.

All of these deadly serious predictions are familiar; they also, however, happen to be laughably untrue. At present count, and with the most accuracy that demographic science can hope to achieve, there are 2 billion Christians in the world. By the year 2050, there will be 3 billion, outnumbering Muslims three to two. Christianity is anything but moribund, so whence the rumors of its imminent, whimpering death?

Philip Jenkins, professor of history and religious studies at Penn State, makes the sensible case that Christianity is indeed growing quickly, just not in its old haunts—Europe and North America—and not in ways particularly attractive to the mainstream media. In the first place, Christianity's center of gravity is shifting south: Before the end of this century we can well expect Africa, Asia, and Latin America to be the home of the most vibrant and populous Christian nations on earth. Already fast approaching Europe's 560 million Christians (many of whom, let us admit, are only nominally so), Latin America is home to 480 million, Africa to 360 million, Asia to 313 million—and all of these are notably larger contingents than North America's mere 260 million.

Perhaps even more striking is the kind of people who are attracted to Christianity in the Southern Hemisphere. On the whole, they are not much like their northern counterparts: They are overwhelmingly poor, displaced from rural villages into overcrowded cities in search of work. They are morally conservative, often to the point of being what northerners would call puritanical, and theologically orthodox. They adhere strictly to the word of Scripture, which commands their loyalty far more than state or society; and they expect supernatural intervention in their daily lives, be it in the form of faith healing or ecstatic prophecy. They tend to be Roman Catholics (frequently of a charismatic stripe) or Pentecostals.

Despite the West's predilection for reporting only the more syncretistic or corrupt extremes of Southern Hemisphere churches, the overwhelming majority of these churches are recognizably Christian. On the whole, the old guard in Europe and North America has simply ignored the burgeoning masses of Christians in the South. When they have noticed them, it has generally been in the service of the northern churches' polemical agendas. Northern conservatives laud the traditional morality, in particular the traditional sexual morality, found in the South, and discover therein the means to defend unpopular decisions at home. Northern liberals, on the other hand, uphold the South's tendencies towards liberation theology in order to plead for social reform and make prophetic critiques of capitalist excesses.

The churches of the South do, in fact, exhibit the qualities Northerners ascribe to them; but Jenkins argues that adopting the southern churches for

Sarah E. Hinlicky is a senior in the Master of Divinity program at Princeton Theological Seminary.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

northern rhetorical purposes is a dead end—because what the North has to say about Christianity is not going to matter much as the years pass. One need only cursorily examine the relative birth and conversion rates of North and South to see where the future lies—and where the future, there also the power.

The southern churches have ceased to be the transplants of colonial good will they still were at the beginning of the 20th century. They have become indigenous, with their own clergy, prophets, traditions, and theologies; and so it is entirely reasonable to expect that the heart, soul, and mind of the Christian faith will very soon be found not in Europe, but south of the Equator.

■

The heart, soul, and mind of the Christian faith will very soon be found not in Europe, but south of the Equator.

■

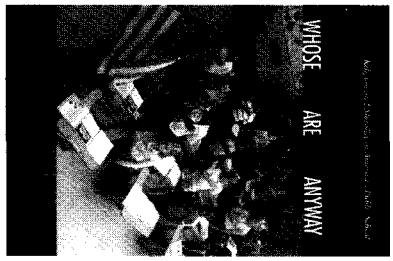
This is not an entirely novel situation in the history of the Church. For hundreds of years, while Europe was still pagan, Christianity was centered in the Holy Land and the Near East. The churches in Armenia and Ethiopia were especially strong and influential, and to this day there remain groups such as the Monophysites and Nestorians, who have hung on these many years outside the European fold.

In many ways, Jenkins demonstrates, the growth of the Church in the Southern Hemisphere now shows striking parallels to its growth in Europe after Constantine. Just as Church and country were tightly bound together in medieval Europe, now too politics south of the Equator is deeply colored by the religious allegiance of various constituencies, whether to throw off tyrannical regimes or establish positively Christian nations. Today's pressing question—how to deal with enemies who make war in the name of Islam—also has a precedent in that period. But though the religious and cultural changes in the post-Constantinian period were often the object of violent struggle, we tend to view the outcome as basically good; and there is little reason to doubt that there will be a similarly positive result in the South.

Jenkins's meticulously researched work should serve, however, as a wake-up call for northern Christians. The North is steadily losing its population and grip on the faith, to such an extent that it is no longer surprising when missionaries come from the South to their secularized elder brothers up North. Jenkins's book should also pop the balloon of conceit that supposes that the North knows what the really compelling and cutting-edge issues of Christianity are; these concerns are not frequently shared by the burgeoning South. (A notable example of this came at the Anglican Communion's last Lambeth conference, when African bishops played a key role in rejecting a move to endorse homosexuality.)

The most peculiar note struck in this book is Jenkins's occasional display of glee at the dashing of white northern liberal hopes for the future of the Church. This is peculiar because the book is primarily a sociological study, not a theological one; Jenkins asserts that "we can be none too precise about defining Christianity," so the criterion for membership in the Church is self-definition and not any particular body of belief. He also indulges in intermittent bizarre speculations such as the following: "There is now talk that the Virgin might be proclaimed a mediator and co-Savior figure, comparable to Jesus himself, even a fourth member of the Trinity. Such ambitious schemes remain controversial, but demographic trends within the Church make it highly likely that they will be implemented in the coming decades." This is in fact a change that most orthodox Christians—especially the ones he has spent the better part of his book defending—would agree departs from catholic Christianity altogether.

Nevertheless, these are minor quibbles, and the larger point of the book is well taken. Whatever one's personal hopes for the future of the Church, one basic fact remains unchanged: "Christianity exercises an overwhelming global appeal, which shows not the slightest sign of waning." **NR**



A Liberal's Argument for Teaching Religion in Public Schools

Whose Kids Are They Anyway?

Religion and Morality in America's Public Schools

Raymond R. Roberts

0-8298-1457-4

$19, cloth

"Whose Kids Are They Anyway? is a thoughtful and provocative exploration of key worldviews that have helped shape the national debate about moral education in public schools. Highly recommended for educators—and anyone else—interested in understanding the relationship of character education to religious and spiritual convictions."

—*Charles Haynes, senior scholar, First Amendment Center*

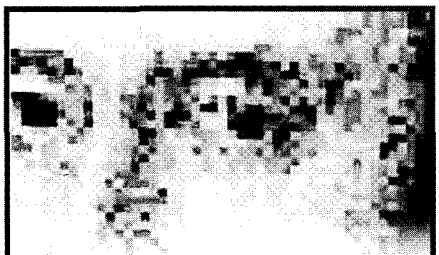
THE PILGRIM PRESS

800.537.3394

pilgrimpress.com

[NR5200AVN]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

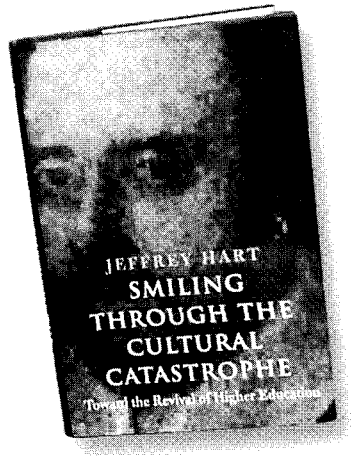


SMILING THROUGH
the
CULTURAL
CATASTROPHE

Toward the Revival of Higher Education

JEFFREY HART

"A crowning achievement. . . . A grand tour, guided by Hart's learning, fueled by his passion, beguiling in its delivery, reflecting a lifetime's experience as a teacher."
—William F. Buckley Jr., *National Review*



In this loving tribute to the literature of the Western canon, Jeffrey Hart reminds us of the power and intellectual energy within these essential books.

$26.95

YALE University Press
yalebooks.com

The Great Debate

JAMES COMO

The Question of God: C. S. Lewis and Sigmund Freud Debate God, Love, Sex, and the Meaning of Life, by Armand M. Nicholi Jr. (Free Press, 304 pp., $25)

THIS book began as a series of lectures for undergraduates, taught for 25 years at Harvard College and at the Medical School. The course is both demanding and rewarding, which I believe for three reasons. First, I have a young friend who took the course, who raved about it to me in detail, and whose life it changed, for the better and forever. Second, I am an "adviser" on an attempt to make a film version of the course's idea, and so have learned of its instructor's reputation for rigor (although I do not know Armand Nicholi personally). And finally, Dr. Nicholi—psychiatrist, professor at Harvard Medical School and Massachusetts General Hospital, and clinician in private practice—shows himself in this book as a teacher of both great intellectual range and contagious devotion to disinterested argument.

The book's design is simple: In its nine main chapters, Nicholi's protagonists, C. S. Lewis and Sigmund Freud, treat—more or less alternately—such major intellectual topics as God, happiness, pain, and death. Nicholi has a gift for apt and ample quotation, and along the way provides biographical vignettes and insights of the kind that are indispensable in a book about two people who so frequently used themselves as data. His writing, at once allusive and lean, arouses a thirst: Would that we were in the Nicholi classroom to hear the professor's ready interjections, so fitting are they, and to make our own interjections.

I begin mine with quibbles. Well-read in Lewis, Nicholi nevertheless leaves two strange gaps in his account of Lewis's life and work. Owing, I think, to an excessive and naïve reliance on Lewis's autobiography, *Surprised by Joy*, and to a maladroit use of letters, he too easily dismisses the possibility (in fact, a probability) of a sexual liaison between Lewis and Mrs. Moore, his mother-surrogate. Second, the small use Nicholi has for Lewis's imaginative work allows him to ignore, for example, Lewis's early poetry. This is debilitating, since those works are especially relevant to Lewis's relationship with his father; and the son-father relationship is at the very center of Freud's thinking, and Nicholi's as well. Perhaps, in his appealing sympathy for Freud, Nicholi is backing away from the truth that Lewis was in fact the more complex man.

In general, however, Nicholi wears his authority easily, and thus is very persuasive. When he refers to his own clinical interests and experience, to a visit at the Freud home, or to his conversations with Anna Freud (who emphasized to him the importance of her father's letters), I am impressed; when he diagnoses the etiology of Freud's worldview—his philosophical influences, filial embarrassment, and social resentment arising from anti-Semitism—I am instructed; when he writes that Freud's argument respecting rebellion against authority "cannot explain changes of view very easily," I pay particular attention; and when he concludes that Freud simply "cannot tell us why" Lewis turned to religion while Freud did not, I not only believe Nicholi's account but enjoy an epiphany.

Owing precisely to Nicholi's use of sources, especially Freud's letters, this enjoyment recurs. How interesting to learn that as a young man Freud made an approach to belief, but could not transcend his own willfulness—and so was haunted thereafter by a strange sense of longing. This of course is exactly the phenomenon that would be the basis of Lewis's own conversion: He used the very same word, *Sehnsucht*, as did Freud to name the feeling, the *Joy* of Lewis's autobiography being nothing but his English evocation of the same phenomenon.

Throughout Freud's life, his God-denial existed alongside a preoccupation

Mr. Como teaches rhetoric at York College of the City University of New York. He is the author of *Branches to Heaven: The Geniuses of C. S. Lewis.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with what he called the "infantile fairy tale" of God's existence. He protested too much on this latter point; he also constantly quoted the Bible, favored religious reading (for example, Heine's *Lazarus*), and had an enduringly respectful fascination with Easter. Often he does seem on the verge of despair: "As an unbelieving fatalist I can only let my arms sink before the terrors of death." Yet on the central issue he remained immutable: Religion was "the enemy." At times he seems a genuinely tragic figure.

On all of these matters, Lewis—who did manage to transcend his own willfulness—launches arguments with the ruinous precision of laser-guided missiles, instruments familiar to any avid Lewis reader. If we so resent parental authority, why invent an omnipotent authority in the first place? If we are wish-fulfilling, why come up with a wish marked by restriction, guilt, and eternal damnation? If matter is all, and science explains it, what explains science or the brain that does science? Yet after a while even the knowledgeable reader senses a new and delightful twinge: Could Lewis be the more open-minded and eager—and Freud the less trusting—empiricist? Could Lewis be the more severe and honest scientist? In this match of the *Weltanschauungen*, Lewis wins on points: He emerges as the reasonable advocate achieving plausibility, Freud as the theophobic hysteric, a sort of fundamentalist of atheism whose insistent faith in the nonexistence of God amounts to a Church of Disbelief.

Nicholi's book is a valuable analysis of two crucially important intellectual figures, who are very well matched: Their lives overlapped; Lewis had read Freud, and both were forthrightly engaged on the same central issue. This, then, is *the* debate, conducted by its two most prominent and accessible advocates; and this offering of Freud's and Lewis's compelling intelligence, convictions, and clarity (could *any* other two write this well?), woven together with Dr. Nicholi's commanding style, amounts to a primer of post-Enlightenment theophobia and its refutations.

For this we may be grateful, and even ask: Might this emblematic achievement inspire others—say, Dr. Johnson vs. Voltaire? **NR**

The Case for Parnassus

MICHAEL POTEMRA

Climbing Parnassus: A New Apologia for Greek and Latin, by Tracy Lee Simmons (ISI, 268 pp., $24.95)

WHY the classics? This question has dominated the education debate for decades now. The late Mortimer Adler made an impressive case for the Greeks, and other greats, as a source of good answers to the problems of philosophy. But Adler received the following rejoinder from W. H. Auden, in a 1940 essay:

> Most [adults] are reading only in order to escape from their own thoughts or to be socially respectable. If they are to improve, the first thing to say to them is not—"You don't read enough," or "You read bad books," but—"You read far too much. You haven't the slightest idea what kind of person you are or what you want to know, and it is no use your trying to read at all until you have, and are compelled to admit that the truth you discover is most disagreeable. To read the *Iliad* because Professor Adler tells you it is good is no better than reading the *Saturday Evening Post* because your neighbor reads it. No one can tell you how to become a civilized person. There is no ready made answer because to become civilized, you will have to be reborn."

Tracy Lee Simmons, formerly an associate editor of NATIONAL REVIEW and now director of the Dow journalism program at Hillsdale College, is less dismissive than Auden of the benefits of a casual acquaintance with the classics. But a bracing spirit very similar to Auden's is in evidence throughout Simmons's fascinating new book on the importance of classical studies. In recent years, there have been many conservative appeals for a return to the classics; but what makes Simmons's new apologia different from the run-of-the-mill

SPECIAL OFFER FOR NEW CUSTOMERS . . .

NEW FOR 2002!

ONLY $7.95 with Free Delivery

Get a 2002 American Eagle Dollar *at our cost!*

You can't purchase an Uncirculated American Eagle silver dollar directly from the U.S. Mint. But you can now purchase this official U.S. silver dollar from Littleton Coin Company *at our cost*, and with *FREE shipment to your home!*

The beautiful and sought-after $1 American Eagle is over 99.9% pure silver, and carries the same design as the popular "Walking Liberty" silver coins of 1916-47.

You'll also receive our fully illustrated catalog, plus other fascinating selections from our Free Examination Coins-on-Approval Service, from which you may purchase any or none – return balance in 15 days – with option to cancel at any time. But don't delay – order your American Eagle silver dollar *at our cost today!*

FREE Folder!

★ **2002 marks the 16th anniversary of the American Eagle series**
★ **In beautiful mint Uncirculated condition!**
★ **Limited-time offer for new customers**

ORDERS MUST BE RECEIVED BY JULY 31, 2002

2002 American Eagle Silver Dollar *at our cost!*

©2002 LCC, Inc.

☑YES! Please send me the Uncirculated American Eagle Silver Dollar at Littleton's cost and with Free Delivery (limit 5). Plus, my FREE 50 State Quarter Folder (one per customer, please). Order deadline: **July 31, 2002**

Method of payment:
❑ Check or Money Order enclosed
❑ VISA ❑ MasterCard
❑ American Express ❑ NOVUS Cards
Card No. Exp. Date ___/___

How Many (limit 5): _____
Total Cost at $7.95 each: $ _____
Shipping & Handling: $ **FREE!**
Total Amount: $ _____

Please send to:
Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

Littleton Coin Company
Dept. KVY710
1309 Mt. Eustis Road
Littleton, NH 03561-3737
www.littletoncoin.com/specials

Over 55 Years of Friendly Service to Collectors
45-Day Money Back Guarantee of Satisfaction

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

conservative argumentation is his disdain for easy uplift—and his insistence on the value of intellectual rigor.

There are two main reasons for studying the Greek and Roman classics. The first has to do with content: Knowledge of this material is a passport to the Western inheritance, and to be ignorant of it is to be disconnected from a key element of our identity. To be unfamiliar with the voyages of Ulysses and Aeneas, and of Homer's "rosy-fingered dawn," is to lose one's character as a Western man. The second has to do with the formation of the mind: The act of mastering the ancient languages trains the mind in abstract, detailed, and specific thought.

What makes Simmons's apologia distinctive is the seriousness with which he takes this argument from formation. He dismisses the stereotype of Professor Dryasdust, as well as that of Mr. Gradgrind and his soul-deadening exactions; he says that far from being a pointless exercise in the accumulation of outdated trivia, the detailed study of classical languages renders a very specific benefit to the mind that undertakes them. By concentrating the mind on specifics and the need for total accuracy, this course of study makes the student a focused and rigorous intellectual—insistent on truth, and impatient with vague and gaseous generalities.

Simmons offers a memorable example, borrowed from classicists of an earlier generation, of the specific intellectual tasks demanded by the study of Greek and Latin. The Latin sentence *Vellem mortuos* ("I would that they were dead") contains just two words, but to understand it and translate it accurately requires no fewer than 14 discrete intellectual actions. Here they are (Simmons is quoting from classicist R. M. Wenley):

> A student must know (1) the person, (2) tense, (3) voice, (4) number, (5) mood of the verb *vellem*; (6) that it comes from *volo*, meaning (7) "I wish"; and that 8) the subjunctive has here a particular shade of meaning. As to *mortuos*, he must know that it is (9) the accusative, (10) plural, (11) masculine, from (12) *mortuus*, meaning (13) "dead"; (14) the reason why the accusative is necessary. . . . A student who slips up on any one of these [steps] is bound to make a lovely mess when he comes to translate.

Simmons concludes the example with a truth well known to generations of schoolboys: "In Latin you must be absolutely right, or you are not right at all." And there are no shortcuts: The student must, if he wishes to comprehend the classics, abandon himself to a thought process that he quite naturally finds, at first and for some considerable time thereafter, alien and forbidding. Even someone who can casually read the relatively easy Latin found in Catholic theological textbooks will be brought up short by a passage of Horace or Virgil. "I know the meaning of each of these words," the reader will say in exasperation, "so why is it that I can't make head or tail of what the sentence means?" The answer is that the necessary intellectual habits are missing; they must be acquired, by dint of great effort.

And the work that is required if these habits are to be learned is analogous to the kind of intellectual rebirth W. H. Auden was talking about. It's an ordeal, but, as Simmons explains, its rewards are great. To be equipped, at an early age, with these habits of thought can only have a positive effect on the mind. The same rigorous subjection of the intellect to external reality that results in genuine knowledge of Latin and Greek gives the mind great incisiveness and elasticity in facing other challenges. This goes to the heart of what we mean by a liberal education, as opposed to vocational training: After a strict education in the classics, the mind itself has become a powerful instrument, undaunted by the strange, the complex, and the unexpected; it has been prepared not for a specific purpose, but for any and all purposes that may arise. Show me the man who can think his way through the Latin and Greek constructions, says Simmons, and I'll show you a man who should build bridges.

Simmons recognizes that few among us will aspire to these Parnassian heights—though he makes a very strong case that more of us should. So we are left, again, with the argument from content and the need to preserve the cultural patrimony; and this, too, *pace* Auden, is not inconsiderable. The following story may be apocryphal, but it reminds us how fragile are the ties connecting us to the heights of civilizations past: A student at Oxford, when taking his oral Greek exams in school, was given a passage from the New Testament to construe and translate; it happened to be from the Gospel passage describing how Jesus was arrested and led away to Pilate. The student translated it very well, to the great admiration of his examiners, but when he got to the end of the passage he insisted on continuing the translation, because, he said, "I want to see how it turns out."

There are some things about the past that we simply need to know, in order to be cultured people. Simmons is passionate on the need to cultivate ourselves through a study of the classics, and he has made an engaging and comprehensive case in this fine book. **NR**

LEGACY

WHAT WILL YOURS BE?

What will you bequeath to future generations? How will the ideals you cherish *now* be sustained *then*? Who will articulate your principles for the sake of your grandchildren, your faith, your community, and your country?

There is an answer.

With your help, *National Review* will endure as a powerful voice, sustaining those beliefs you hold dear. Now. And for future generations. As ever, standing athwart history, yelling Stop.

To obtain more information about remembering *National Review* in your will or estate, please contact:
National Review, Legacy
Attn.: James Kilbridge
215 Lexington Avenue, 4th Floor
New York, NY 10016
212-679-7330

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Insurgency

WILLIAM A. RUSHER

Fighting the Good Fight: A History of the New York Conservative Party 1962–2002, by George J. Marlin (St. Augustine's Press, 400 pp., $28)

THIRD parties have often served a useful purpose in American politics, but they are expected to fold their tents and fade away once that purpose has been served. Ordinarily they are born out of concern about some particular issue—Abolition, Free Silver, Prohibition—and disappear when one or the other of the two major parties co-opts the issue, or it simply dies. Even when the parties are founded with some grander notion, either the Republicans or the Democrats tend to be the ultimate beneficiary—as when the Democrats sucked the juice out of the Progressive party, and the GOP allowed itself to become the vehicle of the modern conservative movement.

The election laws of most states, moreover, are carefully designed to encourage this state of affairs, making it difficult for a new party to get on the ballot and almost impossible for it to stay there. Candidates, what's more, are ordinarily not permitted to combine votes they receive on separate lines.

For various historical reasons, the state of New York is an exception to these rules. A new party must get on the ballot by the petition process, but if its candidate for governor receives more than 50,000 votes it becomes an "official" party in the state. Thereafter its nominees will appear on the ballot automatically—unless, of course, it sinks below 50,000 on some future gubernatorial line. Moreover, parties may "cross-endorse," meaning that two or more parties can nominate the same candidate and combine their totals.

These rules were extremely useful to Franklin Roosevelt, many of whose leftist supporters were deeply reluctant to cast their votes for a Democratic party dominated by the Irish Catholics of Tammany Hall. The American Labor party was founded for their benefit, and they voted for Roosevelt and other liberals on its line. When the ALP was infiltrated and taken over by the Communists, union leader David Dubinsky co-founded the Liberal party, which outlived the ALP and served the same purpose.

The next and greatest beneficiary of New York's election laws, however, was a group of young Republican conservatives. In 1960 the governor of New York was Nelson Rockefeller, the leader and prospective presidential choice of the GOP's then vigorous liberal wing. One of New York's two Senate seats was held by Jacob Javits, whose political views are suggested by the fact that he regularly received both the Republican and Liberal nominations. And the congressman from Manhattan's tony "silk stocking" district was John V. Lindsay, an ultra-liberal Republican whose campaign posters hailed him, in a hint of things to come, as "the District's pride, the Nation's hope."

What fun it would be, the young conservatives mused, to found a Conservative party to balance the Liberal party and, by conferring or withholding endorsements, bring heavy pressure to bear on the GOP to pick candidates they could support.

George Marlin's new book, *Fighting the Good Fight*, is an insider's exhilarating account of how they did exactly that. In the ensuing 40 years their new party not only became an official party in the state of New York, coexisting amiably with a Republican party that at first did its best to destroy it, but ran William F. Buckley Jr. for mayor of New York City, elected his brother James to the U.S. Senate (on the Conservative line alone!), and in 1994 provided the winning margin for the Republican candidate for governor, George Pataki, who had wisely requested its endorsement. The party has richly earned Ronald Reagan's salute: "The Conservative party has established itself as a preeminent force in New York politics and an important part of our political history."

The Conservative party is the handiwork of hundreds, perhaps thousands, of people who devoted their efforts to it over the years out of sheer principled idealism, without any thought of the bountiful personal rewards that politics can often bring to its practitioners: men and women like Serphin Maltese and Mike Long, its two most recent state chairmen, and the party's candidates and workers at all levels. Thanks to this book, their names will not be forgotten. But no history of the party can overlook—and this book certainly does not—the truly extraordinary contribution of its first and second chairmen: Kieran O'Doherty and J. Daniel Mahoney, lawyers and brothers-in-law.

Mr. Rusher, the former publisher of NATIONAL REVIEW, is a syndicated columnist.

FOUNDED 1964
TRADITIONALIST MOVEMENT
CATHOLIC CTM INC.

Catholic Traditionalist Movement, Inc.

If you cannot physically attend a
TRADITIONAL LATIN ROMAN CATHOLIC MASS,
the next best thing is to join one spiritually
by visiting AN INTERNET WEBSITE WITH
AROUND-THE-CLOCK VIDEO LATIN MASS
www.latinmass-ctm.org as presented by the
CATHOLIC TRADITIONALIST MOVEMENT, INC.
Father Gommar A. De Pauw, J.C.D.
Founder - President
210 Maple Avenue
Westbury, New York 11590
Tel. (516) 333-6470
Fax. (516) 333-7535

Bargain Books
America's *biggest* catalog selection!
- **Save 30%-80%** on current books, recent overstocks, imports, reprints. Thousands of titles, hundreds of new arrivals monthly.
- **Politics,** Biography, History, Personal Finance, Sports—over 60 subjects.

Free Catalog
800-677-3483
Edward R. Hamilton, ***Bookseller***
311 Oak, Falls Village CT 06031-5005
www.erhbooks.com/cxt

Finely Crafted Leather Footwear For Men
in sizes 6 to 20 & widths AAA to EEEEE
Crafted in Italy, and the United States.
Our classically styled dress, casual and athletic designs offer exceptional comfort.
For a FREE CATALOG call toll-free 1-877-290-7804 code L437A.
E.T. Wright

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Rock-hard conservatives, shrewd politicians, devout Catholics, these young men simply transformed New York politics. Nationally, they were staunch Republicans. The New York Conservative party, they correctly perceived, was a unique remedy for the unique problem presented by that state and its aggressively liberal Republican leadership, and was not to be expanded into a national party. Within New York, however, the party's influence quickly became formidable. Today, scores of Republican congressmen and state legislators (and an occasional Democrat) gratefully accept its endorsement, and quite a few win by the margin its votes provide. Beyond that, its influence is harder to measure, but it has unquestionably played a role in almost every state issue of interest to conservatives, as well as in the votes of the New York congressional delegation.

Marlin, who has long been active in the party's affairs, tells the story in fond detail: the early days in the little office on Lexington Avenue; the party's achievement of official status in 1962 (and its brusque relegation of the Liberal party from Line C to Line D a few years later); Bill Buckley's quixotic race for mayor in 1965; Jim Buckley's astonishing victory over both the Republican and Democratic candidates for the Senate in 1970; Barbara Keating's hopeless but inspiring battle against Senator Javits in 1974; the party's long and complex relationship with Javits's successor, Alfonse D'Amato, after 1980; and much else.

Perhaps there is more here about the intricacies of New York politics in the past 40 years than some people will need, or want, to know. But any political junkie will love Marlin's account of it all, and serious students of America's recent political history will find this book indispensable.

Finally, it is good to know that America's political establishment did at last contrive to reward a few of those young idealists in a material way. In addition to Senator Buckley, there were, for example: James Leff, the brilliant attorney who guided the infant party through the deadly shoals of New York's election laws and then became a widely respected justice of the supreme court of New York; George Marlin himself, who was named by Governor Pataki as executive director of the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey; and last but not least Dan Mahoney, who after two decades at the helm of the Conservative party was appointed by President Reagan to the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit. (Reagan had first thought of appointing Jim Buckley for that circuit, only to have him vetoed under the Senate's rules by the ultra-liberal Senator Lowell Weicker. "Poor Weicker!" Dan chuckled to me. "Imagine him vetoing Jim Buckley and then getting me instead!" Buckley, of course, ended up being appointed to another circuit.)

Kieran O'Doherty and Dan Mahoney both died in the 1990s, but their party is now a permanent fixture of the New York political landscape. I cannot imagine a higher tribute. **NR**

■ SHELF LIFE ■

THE Thernstroms have done it again. In *Beyond the Color Line: New Perspectives on Race and Ethnicity in America* (Hoover Press/Manhattan Institute, 438 pp., $19.95), scholars Abigail and Stephan Thernstrom have edited an important collection of 25 essays on race in America; as we have come to expect from this redoubtable husband-and-wife team, the overall effect of the scholarship is to challenge the sacred cows of contemporary liberal race talk.

Against the hyperventilations of race rhetoric, the book's contributors erect a sturdy edifice of fact and common sense. In her own essay, Abigail Thernstrom details the racial gap in academic performance—and takes heart in the fact that school reformers are finally focusing on the crucial K–12 years. James Q. Wilson, in an essay on race and crime, says that cities are safer than they used to be, and predicts that if crime rates continue to slide, "the issue of police 'profiling' black persons will slowly disappear." The last word goes to California crusader Ward Connerly, who says that getting rid of divisive affirmative-action preferences is the only way we can "rededicate our nation to the principle of equality and bring social peace and harmony to America."

The Thernstroms' anthology deserves the attention of anyone who cares about promoting racial harmony, but will be especially helpful in college courses, as a counterweight to the reigning platitudes.

■ *William F. Buckley Jr.: A Bibliography* (ISI, 316 pp., $29.95), edited by William F. Meehan III, will be a valuable tool for historians. It provides a comprehensive index to a half-century's worth of writings by WFB on—well, on everything. Leafing through the name index gives some idea of the diversity: Robert McNamara is followed by 1960s segregationist Lester Maddox, who is followed in turn by James Madison; NATIONAL REVIEW senior editor Ramesh Ponnuru jostles Cambodian tyrant Pol Pot; NR editor-at-large John O'Sullivan is sandwiched between José Ortega y Gasset and Lee Harvey Oswald. Not a restful 50 years, to be sure, but never dull.

■ Lynne Cheney has just written a children's book, *America: A Patriotic Primer* (Simon & Schuster, 40 pp., $16.95), and I strongly recommend it as a first book about America for young children. The book has a very large format and an extremely busy and colorful layout, but the principles kids will learn from it are simple and eternal. Here's one example of its alphabetic lessons: "E is for *Equality*. The Declaration of Independence established the principle that all are created equal and have God-given rights to live, to be free, and to pursue happiness. Over the years, more and more of us have been able to enjoy these rights equally."

In her introduction, Cheney describes the book's animating idea:

> Mary Antin [an immigrant from Russia] . . . described in a book the ongoing amazement she felt at having become an American. One day, she wrote, she learned about George Washington, and suddenly she realized, 'I was more nobly related than I had ever supposed. . . . George Washington, who died long before I was born, was like a king in greatness, and he and I were fellow citizens.' Mary Antin's book is called *The Promised Land*, and there are many reasons that so many people from so many countries have looked on the United States in this way. We should all commit ourselves to seeing that the children of this blessed country understand these reasons from their youngest years.

Lynne Cheney has long been prominent as a conservative polemicist; but this is a book that can be embraced by Americans of all political persuasions.

—MICHAEL POTEMRA

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS ■

EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

BIBLICAL JOURNALISM. Christian, are you interested in being a journalist? The World Journalism Institute has a number of journalism credit courses scheduled throughout the year in New York City, Washington, D.C., Los Angeles, California, and Asheville, North Carolina. Check us out at www.worldji.com. We may be Right for you.

FRIENDSHIP, ETC.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS, linked nationally since 1970. P. O. Box 117, Gradyville, Pa. 19039. 610-358-5049 or www.singlebooklovers.com

LITERARY

UNRAVEL A MYSTERY! Armchair Detectives call for free catalogue of vintage to 70s mystery books. E-mail Cloak & Dagger: siralewker@aol.com or phone 845-371-6739.

PUBLISH YOUR IDEAS. Gregory C. Benoit Publishing will help, from start to finish. www.gregwa.com

YOU'VE READ P. G. Wodehouse and Solzhenitsyn. Discover JACK VANCE: www.vanceintegral.com

PUBLISH YOUR BOOK. Ivy House Publishing Group. All subjects considered. 800-948-2786, or: publisher@ivyhousebooks.com

CONCISE MONTHLY COMMENTARY on public policy and the culture. Free sample available. *The Texas Pilgrim*. www.texaspilgrim.com

ORGANIZATIONS

AMERICAN PLURALISM SOCIETY. Developing traditional cultures within a multicultural society. P. O. Box 32813, Palm Beach Gardens, Fla. 33420.

www.americanpluralismsociety.org

PERSONAL

INTELLIGENT, EXUBERANT, LOYAL non-spender; widowed too soon; seeks good-humored gentleman, 45–65. NR Box 2449.

RELIGION

TRADITIONAL ANGLICAN WORSHIP, CATHOLIC FAITH, EVANGELICAL PREACHING. Call the Anglican Catholic Church Information Center. 800-506-7616. www.anglicancatholic.org

SITUATIONS AVAILABLE

POV

Your Point of View: Seen by Millions!

Submission deadline for the 2003 season is June 28, 2002!

Public television's premiere showcase for independent, non-fiction film and video seeks programs from all perspectives to showcase in annual national PBS series.All subjects, styles and lengths are welcome. Unfinished films and videos may be eligible for completion funds.

Call immediately for guidelines and entry form.
1-800-756-3300 ext. 318 or visit P.O.V. website at **www.pbs.org/pov**

WEBSITES

WEIRDREPUBLIC.COM—Your defense against liberal myths and liberal bad ideas.

DEFEND YOUR CHILDREN against government-endorsed brainwashing. www.hemet411.com/afha

SUPPLY SIDERS GALORE
NRO Financial: Larry Kudlow, Stephen Moore, Alan Reynolds, James Glassman, and many more. Every day at: www.nationalreview.com

CLASSIFIED INFORMATION

Rates: $4.50 per word (10-word min). Phone number, zip code, all permitted abbreviations (P. O. Box, S.A.S.E., etc.) count as one word.
Discounts: 4 times, $4.00 per word; 6 times, $3.75 per word; 8 or more times, $3.50 per word.
Display Ads: Minimum 1 inch, maximum 9 inches (vertical). Width 2 1/4 inches. One time, $225 per column inch; 4 times, $200 per column inch; 8 times, $185 per column inch; 10 or more times, $175 per column inch. Camera-ready art (to size) must be provided. Display rates apply to Classified section only.
NR Box Numbers: $10 additional (one-time only charge). When responding to an NR Box number, Address: NR Box _____, c/o Tony Savage, NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016. Letters will be forwarded by first-class mail.
To Order: Full payment in advance by check, money order (payable to NATIONAL REVIEW), MasterCard, or Visa (include expiration date). Address: Tony Savage, NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016. Fax: 212-696-0340. Tel. 212-679-7330.
Deadlines: Every other Tuesday (approx. 16 days before the magazine is printed).

THE OFFICIAL NR CAP

Official Headgear of America's World Champions.
Stitched Logo.
One Size Fits All.
Navy Blue/Off-White.
$17.95 Each.
Extra Caps $11.00

One cap $17.95. Extra caps $11 each.
Special offer: No shipping/handling charge.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____
Number of caps: _____

PAYMENT METHOD
❑ Check enclosed (make payable to "National Review")
Bill to: ❑ MasterCard ❑ Visa
Acct. No. _____
Expir. Date _____
Signature _____
* Total payment $ _____
* NY State residents include sales tax.

Mail to: National Review, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, NY 10016

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

Exit Gun Control

NEW YORK, APRIL 9

NEWS stories from around the nation identifying gun control as a tripwire issue dividing conservatives and liberals don't surprise. The events of September 11 have heightened the resolution of the "individual rights" interpreters of the Second Amendment. These are distinguished from the "collective rights" faction. The former stare the language in the face and come away with a reading different from that of the collective crowd. At issue is the interpretation of a single sentence: "A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed." Opponents of comprehensive gun-control laws view this as a constitutional guarantee of the right of Americans to own guns. An easy way to put it is that they view the amendment as if the initial clause were irrelevant, leaving us simply with a guarantee against federal gun control that challenges the right of citizens to own weapons. By contrast, of course, there are those (roughly speaking, the nation's intelligentsia) who insist that the Second Amendment goes no further than to say that Congress may not legislate against the right of individual states to organize militias of arms-bearing citizens.

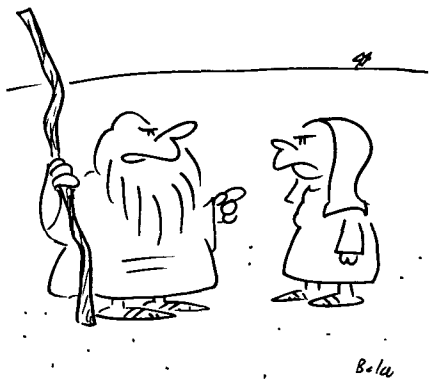
The learned arguments go on and on. The gun-control lobby has suffered two severe blows in the recent period. One of them is that Professor Laurence Tribe of Harvard, much esteemed by American liberals, in part because of his enthusiasm for abortion rights, having examined the historical documents, opines that indeed the people who framed the Bill of Rights intended to guarantee individual, not merely collective, gun-ownership rights. And the Fifth Circuit ruled in the same direction in *United States* v. *Emerson*.

As with other contentions requiring constitutional interpretation, the division over gun control is only one part historical (What did the framers intend?). Another, more significant part, is political (What does the American public *want*?). But it's better, and safer, to ask the question: What do the American people *reasonably* want? It probably could be established by polling that the American people would be happy to hang anybody who burns the U.S. flag, but such sentiments are not likely to be codified.

The assertion of a right at ridiculous lengths—the absolutization of it, in the manner of the American Civil Liberties Union—is a way of undermining it. If the Constitution says you can say anything you want under any circumstances, then you can shout *Fire!* in a crowded movie theater. If you have the right to remain silent in all circumstances, then you can decline to give testimony vital to another citizen's freedom and rights. If you insist that a citizen has the right to own a machine gun, you discredit his right to own a pistol or a rifle.

What ripened in the aftermath of September 11 was a sensibility—of the individual citizen's dependence, at the margin, on his own resources. George Will put it pithily (as ever) when he asked, Call for a cop, an ambulance, and a pizza, and ask which is likelier to get to you first. A rifle in the closet wouldn't have been useful against the swooping 767s that struck the Twin Towers. But a sense of the implications of chaos and anarchy was sharpened. An analyst 20 years ago remarked that an 82-year-old couple living in an apartment in the Bronx, after twice being assaulted, found it possible to sleep at night only after acquiring a pistol and advertising its presence on a note pinned to the outside door.

Both sides will find it useful to temper extreme expressions of their positions. But it is certainly true that at this moment it is likelier that congressmen running for election or reelection in November will not press the collective interpretation of the Second Amendment.



"You knew I was a patriarch when you married me."

Chavez Saves Democracy?

NEW YORK, APRIL 19

PEDRO CARMONA of Venezuela has a nice point. He didn't participate in a coup, he says. All he did was agree to serve as interim president *after* being told that Hugo Chavez had resigned! There are those who find this explanation a little smelly, and certainly it is self-serving. As a rule, if asked by military generals to become chief of state, one shows a little interest in what it is that happened to the predecessor.

Hugo Chavez is a provocative figure. He, and Chavez loyalists, are opposed to anti-Chavez coups. Pro-Chavez coups are another thing. Hugo tried to become chief of state via a coup d'état in 1992, but failed, and went to jail for two years. But then he succeeded, winning one election, modifying the constitution to permit him a second election, and winning it.

But President Chavez has many problems. The insurrection preceding his 48-hour dethronement was something substantially of his own making. There were tens of thousands of demonstrators out there protesting Chavez policies. He confronted that problem in high autocratic style: He forced television stations to go off the air, and ordered snipers and other armed loyalists at the presidential palace to open fire. When word got around that a dozen people had been killed and many wounded, military commanders took over, effecting his momentary withdrawal.

It has been a doleful journey. The *Washington Post* summarized it on April 13: "Along the way, Mr. Chavez seriously compromised the integrity of democratic institutions such as Congress and the courts. And unfortunately for the poor, who make up 80 percent of the population of an oil-rich country, Mr. Chavez was a terrible leader. His senseless mix of populist and socialist decrees seriously damaged the economy and galvanized opposition from businesses, media, and the middle class, while his courting of Fidel Castro, Colombia's Marxist guerrillas, and Saddam Hussein made him a pariah both in Latin America and in Washington."

But attention is now being given to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the role the United States played in the attempted coup. The White House said there had been no collaboration with the generals, but there are skeptics. There is, of course, a long historical record of American intervention in Latin affairs. Sometimes we get so upset over the *absence* of a coup, we send down the Marines to remove an incumbent leader, as the senior President Bush did in 1989 in Panama. There were Venezuelan efforts to do something about Chavez well before the April events. In November of last year, the *Washington Post* reported on a clandestine movement to oust Mr. Chavez. Reporter Scott Wilson wrote of "a petition drive on the streets, and a push in the National Assembly to have him declared insane by a medical panel appointed by the Supreme Court."

But the National Assembly was controlled by Chavez. The deadlock brought an apocalyptic prediction: "There is no legal solution, so what can we do? In my opinion, military intervention is inevitable." That was said in November by Oswaldo Alvarez Paz, who had been named by Chavez to help draft a new constitution.

When we let our hair down, we occasionally have undemocratic thoughts. "The lesson here [in Venezuela] is that charismatic demagogues can still win elections in poor countries," said Anibal Romero, a political-science professor at Simon Bolivar University. "The economic and social instability is still with us. The field is still open for the successful appearance of these figures that, by distorting reality and securing the hearts and minds of the uneducated, win elections."

It was a coup that, in Peru, got rid of President Fujimori, and it was the absence of a coup that prolonged for year after year the reign of Peron and his cousins and his aunts in Argentina. When Bolivia had its 49th coup in the 1960s, NATIONAL REVIEW magazine acerbically proposed that Bolivia should prepare festivities to celebrate its 50th coup, which was presumably in the making. Mexico avoided the problem for 70 years by going through the motions of an election.

We have an endless problem, contending with our superstitious assumption that a democratically elected leader is absolutely entitled to govern. He is *presumptively* entitled to govern. Allende was democratically elected in Chile, and in three years was busy subverting freedom of the press and the nation's constitution, inaugurating years of despotism by Pinochet. The restored Hugo Chavez has said he will seek to cooperate with the policies of his opponents, and so far, he hasn't jailed or executed anybody, but democratic standards aren't automatically guaranteed by his restoration. The U.S. didn't engineer the attempted coup, but there is no reason to rejoice in its failure.

Questions Before the Vatican House

NEW YORK, APRIL 23

HERE, in one of those nutshells, is a crystallization of what's going on in the Catholic controversy.

Question: Is the density of sex-oriented life and commerce in America distinctive? Monsignor Eugene Clark, the learned rector of St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York City, has said as much, and reasoned that the consequence of it is to have made America the most immoral of Western communities.

Question: Even if that is so, can the Church reasonably assume that the clergy, as a whole, can deflect temptations to which those with lesser loyalties to holy and civilized norms, will fall prey?

Question: In order to fortify weak-minded priests, how best to proceed? Those of them who commit a crime should be treated as criminals: The prospect of being turned in to the local prosecutor certainly dilutes the temptation to sin.

Question: Is one more fortifier of the weak-minded priest his release from celibacy? But the Church is talking about people who are already priests and have therefore already taken vows of celibacy. To release them retroactively from that pledge would certainly demoralize the priestly station. If the Church thinks it time to reduce the clerical overhead in life, it should consider voluntary celibate orders in the future and, in the present, greater laxity to those who seek laicization upon finding the rigors of clerical life inordinate, even as some married men, finding conjugal life too exacting, resume bachelor life.

Question: Is it homosexuality, depravity, or mere carnality that the Church needs to confront more realistically? It is the Church's position not that homosexuality is sinful, but that the homosexual act is unholy. Some reason that homosexual priests are not therefore to be excluded provided there is reasonable confidence that such priests will contain their sexual appetites.

Question: Can there be "reasonable confidence" in this matter? It is generally observed that practicing homosexuals are more promiscuous than their heterosexual counterparts. The errant priest will, not surprisingly, molest not just one boy, but a dozen or more boys. But is the homosexual also more incontinent than the heterosexual? Is the sexual urge more intense, and therefore more difficult to control? Does the Vatican have data on this subject?

Question: It is almost everywhere acknowledged that bishops who failed to report wayward priests to civil authorities or to isolate them from contact with potential victims, did wrong. There were different motives for acting as they did. Some were moved simply by tribal affinities—*protect your own*. Some believed that prudence dictated legal settlements. Some believed that therapy was available, and that after submitting to it, the priest would emerge whole, his bleeding organ bandaged. Science has all but established that therapy will not cool festering pedophilia. But the homosexual (and the heterosexual) binge drinker *can* benefit from therapy. Cardinal Law appears to have been affected by all of these approaches to the problem, and his misjudgments are reasonably regarded as incapacitating him to lead the American Church toward recovery.

Question: It is urged by some that the most useful weapon in the hands of U.S. Catholics is money. Money is the tender of democratic power—you don't like the way the Red Cross works? You stop giving to the Red Cross. The exposure of many U.S. dioceses is one more succulent fruit of our tort system—in Dallas, the jury awarded $120 million to 11 plaintiffs. In Regina, Saskatchewan, a single law firm represents more than 6,000 plaintiffs against residential schools in western Canada, many of them, but by no means all of them, run by the Catholic Church. Ah, but, observes counselor E. F. Anthony Merchant, "If you lose a couple of legs in Canada, you only get a couple of hundred thousand dollars, while in the U.S. you might get a couple of million." Catholics will be invited to reflect that the support of their dioceses, in bad times as well as in good times, is a derivative of their faith, which isn't extinguished by errant priests, any more than by errant popes of yesteryear.

—UNIVERSAL PRESS SYNDICATE

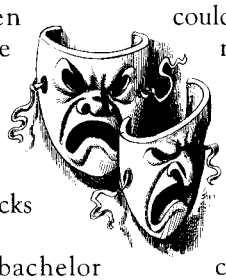
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

▪ THE MISANTHROPE'S CORNER ▪

FLORENCE KING

LAST year I examined the trend toward nationwide stupidity in two columns about the people I called "Ignos" and "Duhs." Now I ask you to turn your attention to yet another group of American folk heroes: the "Ughs."

We live in stomach-turning times. Dial soap's "You're not as clean as you think you are" commercial shows a dog drinking from a toilet and then licking its owner's face.



Folger's coffee has taken Maxwell House's "good to the last drop" pitch and rendered it literally: The Folger's drinker accidentally spills a drop of his coffee on the diner counter, then bends over and licks it up with a loud slurp.

DiGiorno pizza's sloppy bachelor roommates smack their lips and talk with full mouths as they argue over whether it's delivery or DiGiorno.

Nyquil's man-with-a-cold gets out of bed and goes to the kitchen for a glass of warm milk. On his way back upstairs he snorts, drips, gags, hacks, and has a loud, phlegmy sneezing fit that spills the milk all over his bathrobe.

Tropicana orange juice, striving for a calcium statement, shows us a child patting the belly of his extremely pregnant mother, who is clad in a wet swimsuit.

PermaTreat exterminators announces, "That's a real cockroach problem," and then shows us an actual swarm.

Kodak (I believe it is) features a young man trying to win back his girlfriend by taking a picture of his tattooed pelvis.

A magazine ad for a toilet-bowl cleaner (I can't find the clipping and don't remember the brand) showed a smiling woman in her bathroom. The caption read: "It really works! If you don't believe it, smell my toilet!"

A grocery coupon that turned up in a Sunday paper last December offered $1.00 off on two boxes of the product, which, thanks be to God, I no longer need, because it would be impossible to boycott. The accompanying ad read:

"Guess who's joining you under the mistletoe? Go ahead—kiss your crush. KOTEX has you covered. Stock up for seasonal surprises. (Like your period.) Happy Holidays from Kotex. Kotex fits. Period. Check out Kotex.com."

They used to be called "sanitary napkins" and sold already wrapped in plain brown paper so that women would not be embarrassed to buy them from a male drug clerk, or to be seen buying them by strange men. That was back when toilets could not be photographed; in old movies, bathroom scenes of a man shaving or a woman in a bubbly tub never showed the toilet. The first to be filmed was the one in *Psycho*, and it caused audible gasps and nervous laughter.

Sweatiness was limited to characters who worked hard or engaged in physical struggle. Hairiness was considered feral; armpits could not be shown in deodorant ads and actors like William Holden had to have their chests shaved. As for sloppy table manners, they were second only to black hats as signposts of the bad guys.

These standards were abandoned as relics of hypocrisy and repression, but they are starting to look a lot like civilization as the Ughs tighten their grip on the culture. "Gross-out" movies are now an actual genre, like sci-fi and Westerns, and we can't avoid watching them. Rubrics like "Just switch channels" are useless. Between promos aired repeatedly during station breaks and film clips featured on entertainment news, we get a Best Of sampling of green snot and half-eaten worms without leaving the privacy of our homes.

Of course we miss some scenes, like the pharting contest, but not really. Anyone who has ever had any contact with pubescent males hasn't missed a thing; if you have an eighth-grade diploma you have what amounts to a lifetime movie pass. Pubescent males are charter members of Ugh, and the eighth grade is the high noon of their compulsion to exercise the only power they have: the power to disgust. Being disgusting, especially in the eyes of those scary creatures called girls, is their greatest delight.

Since arrested development is as American as apple pie, it is easy to identify the subconscious motivation of the adult male Ughs who produce all these revolting movies and commercials. They are our tassel-loafered Taliban, engaged in a last, desperate striving for male domination under the tacit battle cry, "If you can't beat 'em, disgust 'em."

Unfortunately, it's getting harder and harder to disgust women these days, so the Ugh content of American life must keep expanding to fill the vacuum left by female modesty and delicacy. Consequently, our entire population now has a median age of 14, and a sense of proportion that never gets past the eighth grade.

To see what the Ughs are doing to us, consider the sensation caused by the English leading lady, Mrs. Patrick Campbell, who became the first actress to blow her nose onstage during a crying scene in the 1893 play, *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray*. The realistic touch won the hearts of the audience because they were too far away to see and hear the physical effects of tears, but the blubbery, smeary weeping on daily display in news close-ups has a very different effect on us.

Familiarity doesn't breed contempt, it *is* contempt. We are drowning in the bodily fluids of total strangers. If we add up all the sights and sounds that are forced on us—all the ear wax, armpits, gags, belches, pharts, mouth-slapping, tooth-sucking, nose-picking, and the butt cleavage exposed by wearers of low-slung jeans—it becomes instantly clear what has happened: Everybody is married to everybody else. The Ughs have given us *E Pluribus Unum* in spades; America is one big couple, suffering from the kind of frayed nerves and quotidian strains for which marriage has ever been famous.

Our various "rages"—road, air, subway, whatever—are directed at strangers, yet there is something oddly intimate about them. They seem more like the continuation of an old fight, possessing that sudden bubbling-up quality that invariably precedes domesticity's timeless signature line:

"If you do that one more time I'll scream!" **NR**

Miss King can be reached at P.O. Box 7113, Fredericksburg, Va. 22404.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

©2001 Milliken & Company. Embassy is a registered trademark of Milliken & Company for fabrics. Dacron® is a DuPont registered trademark.

MILLIKEN

WITH EMBASSY® DAMASK, YOU CAN TOSS YOUR OLD TABLE LINEN EXPECTATIONS OVERBOARD.

Greg Wysocki/Director, Purchasing,
Holland America Line & Windstar Cruises
Robert Hendrix/Executive Chef, Holland America Line, ms Amsterdam

When Holland America's passengers embark on the new flagship ms Amsterdam, they expect the ultimate vacation experience. Amsterdam's staff of 700 works hard to provide a luxurious atmosphere—from staterooms to entertainment to fine dining.

"We needed a table linen fabric with a look and feel that would complement the elegance of La Fontaine, our main dining room," explains Greg Wysocki, Holland America's Director, Purchasing. "And since we serve 6000 meals a day and wash our linens over 700 times a year, the linens also had to provide superior durability and color consistency."

According to Robert Hendrix, Amsterdam's Executive Chef, Embassy® Satin Band is the perfect match. "We have extremely fast turnover between seatings," he says, "and Embassy linens always come back soft and clean. With Embassy we never run short of linens, and we don't have to reorder as often as we used to with poly/cotton."

"Our cruise guests have high expectations," states Greg Wysocki. "And so do we. That's why we use Embassy Satin Band tablecloths and napkins." It's been smooth sailing ever since.

Embassy®
Damask by Milliken

The Definition of Elegance.

Visit our website at www.millikentablelinen.com
For more information call 1-800-255-8472.
International inquiries, please call 1-864-503-2897.

JD 00-NAP-2171I

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

©2002, Fannie Mae. All rights reserved. The house logo is a registered mark of Fannie Mae.

There are many things to celebrate in America. With the help of Fannie Mae, our housing finance system is one of them.

When it comes to housing finance, we've created something special here in America. Because only in America can a home buyer easily secure a 30-year, fixed-rate mortgage with a low down payment.

Without Fannie Mae, this wouldn't have been possible over the years. Our main focus has always been to make mortgages more affordable.

In many other countries home buyers don't have access to long-term, fixed-rate mortgages.

And in the United States, families can become home buyers with as little as three percent down. In Germany, a typical down payment is 30 to 40 percent. In Japan? It's 50 to 60 percent.

At Fannie Mae, we believe the American Dream should be an attainable dream. So we're working to make housing affordable for more and more Americans. And that's something worth celebrating.

FannieMae
www.fanniemae.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED